

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.R. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).
 Ak. = Akkadian.
 Alex. = Alexandrian.
 Amer. = American.
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.
 Aq. = Aquila.
 Arab. = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Arm. = Armenian.
 Ary. = Aryan.
 As. = Asiatic.
 Assyr. = Assyrian.
 AT = Altes Testament.
 AV = Authorized Version.
 AVm = Authorized Version margin.
 A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
 Bab. = Babylonian.
 c. = *circa*, about.
 Can. = Canaanite.
 cf. = compare.
 ct. = contrast.
 D = Deuteronomist.
 E = Elohist.
 edd. = editions or editors.
 Eryp. = Egyptian.
 Eng. = English.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
 f. = and following verse or page.
 ff. = and following verses or pages.
 Fr. = French.
 Germ. = German.
 Gr. = Greek.
 H = Law of Holiness.
 Heb. = Hebrew.
 Hel. = Hellenistic.
 Hex. = Hexateuch.
 Himy. = Himyaritic.
 Ir. = Irish.
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.
 J = Jahwist.
 J" = Jehovah.
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.
 Jos. = Josephus.
 LXX = Septuagint.
 Min. = Minean.
 MSS = Manuscripts.
 MT = Massoretic Text.
 n. = note.
 NT = New Testament.
 Onk. = Onkelos.
 OT = Old Testament.
 P = Priestly Narrative.
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
 Pent. = Pentateuch.
 Pers. = Persian.
 Phil. = Philistine.
 Phoen. = Phœnician.
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
 R = Redactor.
 Rom. = Roman.
 RV = Revised Version.
 RVm = Revised Version margin.
 Sab. = Sabæan.
 Sam. = Samaritan.
 Sem. = Semitic.
 Sept. = Septuagint.
 Sin. = Sinaitic.
 Skr. = Sanskrit.
 Symm. = Symmachus.
 Syr. = Syriac.
 t. (following a number) = times.
 Talm. = Talmud.
 Targ. = Targum.
 Theod. = Theodotion.
 TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
 tr. = translated or translation.
 VSS = Versions.
 Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samnel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.	To = Tobit.
	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	He = Hebrews.
Ro = Romans.	Ja = James.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Gal = Galatians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Eph = Ephesians.	Jude.
Ph = Philippians.	Rev = Revelation.
Col = Colossians.	

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-05.
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*³, 1905.
 Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, 3 vols. 1875-78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-88.
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
 Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*², 1895.
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², 1904.
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 2 vols. 1899.
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849-60.
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-96.
 Muir = *Orig. Sanscrit Texts*, 1858-72.
 Müss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*², 1893-94.
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², 1856.
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
 Schafl-Herzog = *The New Schafl-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-75.
 Schürer = *GJV*³, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 1899.
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*⁴, 1897.
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*², 1894.
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*³, 1885-96.
 Spencer-Gillen^a = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
 Spencer-Gillen^b = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*³, 1891 [⁴1903].
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-74.
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*², 1897.
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
 AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
 AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
 AHR = American Historical Review.
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
 APF = Archiv für Papyrussforschung.
 AR = Anthropological Review.
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
 BL = Bampton Lectures.
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
 BW = Biblical World.
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

- CAIBL*=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE=Catholic Encyclopedia.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.
CIE=Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscript. Graecarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscript. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
CLR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccl. Latinorum.
DAC=Dict. of the Apostolic Church.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWA W=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBR=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI=Encyclopædia of Islâm.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1835).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI=Handbook of American Indians.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HL=Hibbert Lectures.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report.
IG=Inscript. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA=Inscript. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-09).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFL=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTb=Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JRS=Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
*KAT*²=Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1833.
*KAT*³=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
KB or *K/B*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCEI=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary.
OLZ=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Græca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> ³ = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pali Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>REG</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbnch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*², *LOT*⁶, etc.]

being shared, according to Holmes-Parsons, by Cod. 18. (In Redpath, *Concordance to the Proper Names of LXX*, p. 7, this reference to v.¹⁰ is missing.) Though it appears in the Hebrew Bible three times in the famous chapter on the yearly Feast of the Atonement, lexicographers as yet completely disagree as to its explanation. The latest work on Hebrew lexicography, that of Brown-Driver-Briggs (1900), explains the word as 'entire removal,' seeing in the form a 'redupl.

intens. abstr.' from עָלַ=Arab. عَزَلَ, 'remove' = 'entire removal' of sin and guilt from sacred places into the desert on the back of a goat, the symbol of entire forgiveness. This explanation is said to be preferable to another, which finds in it a proper name, either of a rough and rocky mountain (Yoma, 67b, קְשֵׁה שְׂבוּרִים), or of a spirit haunting the desert. The form עָזָז is, in this case, considered as changed from עָזָל, עָזָל being another name of a fallen angel. The name is not found elsewhere in Hebrew. In the Syriac Bible it is pronounced 'āzāzā'il, and explained by the lexicographers as another name of the archangel Michael (after Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, p. 285 i). The name became well known among the Syrians as that of a martyr in the days of Maximian, identified with St. Pancras of the Western calendars; see

'Histoire de Saint Azazil, texte syriaque inédit avec introduction et traduction française: précédée des actes grecs de Saint Pancrace, publiés pour la première fois par Frédéric Macler, Paris, 1902 (*Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études*, fasc. 141), and cf. on it H. Delahaye, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxiv. 93-95, and Brockelmann, *ZDMG* lviii. 499-501. Recently the whole conception has been derived from the Babylonians; cf. J. Dyneley Prince, 'Le Bouc Emissaire chez les Babyloniens' (*JA* x. 2. 1, pp. 133-156, Ju.-Ao. 1903); but M. Fossey (*La Magie assyrienne*, Paris, 1902, p. 85) seems to be right when he declares: 'Je ne puis rien voir de semblable.' If one reads Lv 16 with an open mind, the impression is that Azazel must be a being related to Jahweh in something of the same way as Ahriman to Ormazd, or Satan (Beelzebub) to God. To go into details on the rite of Atonement or the stories about the fallen angels (Gn 6¹⁻²) is outside the scope of this article.*

LITERATURE.—Driver, art. 'Azazel,' in *Hastings' DB*; Benzinger-Cheyne in *Encyc. Bibl.*; Volkelt in *PRE³*; *Jews. Encyc.*; the Comm. on Leviticus; Marmorstein, *Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum*, 1905, p. 37 ff. EB. NESTLE.

* In the Book of Enoch (ch. 6), *Asael* is the name of one of them, in the Greek text (ed. Rademacher) Ἀσαήλ, Syncellus Ἀσαήλ; in ch. 8 ff. *Azazel* in the Ethiopic, ላጻጻላ in the Greek and Syncellus, Ἀῤῥῥῥῥῥῥ according to Irenaeus; he is thrown εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν ὀνῶσαν ἐν τῷ Δουδουῖ (Gr. Δαδουῖ), explained by Geiger as abbreviated from *Beth Hadudo* (the modern *Beihudedun*), the crag down which the goat for Azazel was pushed.

B

BAAL, BEEL, BEL (fem. Baalat, Beela, Beltu).—Ba'al is a primitive title of divinities, which is found in all branches of the Semitic race

(Arab. بعل, *ba'al*; Eth. *ba'al*, *bāl*; Min. and Sab. *ba'l*; Sin. בעל, *ba'lu*; Nab. בעל, Canaanite and Heb. בעל, *ba'al*; Phoen. and Pun. בעל, *ba'l*; Aram.

and Syr. בעל, *ba'al*; Palmy. בעל, *ba'al*, and Syr. בעל, *ba'al*; Palmy. בעל, *ba'al*, and Syr. בעל, *ba'al*).

i. **PRIMITIVE MEANING OF THE NAME.**—The application of this name to deities is secondary; primarily it is a common noun denoting 'possessor,' 'owner.'

(1) It denotes ownership of physical objects. Thus the *ba'al* of a house, field, ditch, or animal is its 'proprietor'; the *ba'alat*, its 'proprietrix' (so in Heb. Phoen. Aram. Assy. Arab. Eth.). The *ba'altim* of a town are its 'citizens' (so in Heb. Phoen.). Even in the singular the word may be used for 'citizen' (cf. *CIS* 120, חורג בעלת כנתי, 'Irene, a citizen of Byzantium'). (2) It denotes a 'possessor' of certain physical characteristics. Thus a two-horned ram is described as a *ba'al* of two horns; a bird, as a *ba'al* of two wings; a hairy man, as a *ba'al* of hair (so in Heb. Assy. Aram. Eth.). (3) It denotes a 'possessor' of certain mental qualities. Thus a discerning man is called a *ba'al* of discernment; a hostile man, a *ba'al* of hostility; a sinful man, a *ba'al* of sin; a dreamer, a *ba'al* of dreams; an eloquent man, a *ba'al* of the tongue (so in Heb. Assy. Aram. Eth.). (4) It denotes a 'possessor' of certain rights or claims over others. Thus a plaintiff is called *ba'al* of a case; a prosecutor, *ba'al* of one's justice; a confederate, *ba'al* of one's covenant (so Heb. Assy. Aram. Eth.). (5) *Ba'al* denotes a 'husband' as the 'owner' of a wife (cf. Dt 5¹⁸ (21) where house, field, male slave, female slave, ox, and ass are enumerated with wife as a man's possessions) (so in Heb. Nab. Palmy. Aram. Arab. Assy.). It is noteworthy, however, that *ba'al* is not used of the master of a slave, or of any other person who exercises authority over men. For the idea 'master,' or 'lord,' the Semitic languages in general use the words *ādōn*, *mār*, *rabb*, but not *ba'al*. Only in Bab.-Assy. has *bēl* (= *ba'al*) developed the general meaning of 'lord' and become a synonym of the other names of authority; but this usage is evidently secondary, since it is not found in the other dialects. Even the meaning 'husband' cannot be primitive, because the *ba'al* or 'owner' type of marriage was not original among the Semites. The evidence is abundant that the primitive constitution of

Semitic society, as of so many other early peoples, was matriarchal (see ASHART, 2). In such a society, where the mother was supreme and marriage was only a temporary union with men of other tribes, the husband obviously could not be called *ba'al* or 'owner,' since the wife was far too independent. He was known rather as *abu*, 'nourisher,' which in the meaning of 'husband' is older than in the meaning of 'father' (cf. Jer 34 and old Bab. usage). In the stage of fraternal polyandry, which among some at least of the Semites succeeded the matriarchal stage, the husband was not yet a *ba'al*, and was probably still known as *abu* (see 'AMM). Only at a relatively late date, when society had finally passed to the monogamous or polygamous stage and wives were secured by purchase, did the husband become an 'owner.' The old word *abu* could no longer be used in the sense of 'husband,' and was set apart to express the idea of 'father,' which now for the first time became important, since children now first knew their fathers. A new term, accordingly, had to be found to express the new conception of the husband as an 'owner.' The other names of authority, *ādōn*, *mār*, *rabb*, had already been pre-empted to express the relation of master to slave and of superior to inferior; but *ba'al*, 'owner,' was an indefinite word that might be applied to the new relationship. It appears, accordingly, that in primitive Semitic usage *ba'al* designated an owner of things or qualities, but not an owner of persons.

As a title of deity, *ba'al* retained its primitive meaning as a common noun, and described the divinity in question as an 'owner' or 'occupier' of some physical object or locality, possibly also as a 'possessor' of some attribute (see below, ii. 10). If the numen was regarded as masculine, it was called a *ba'al*; if feminine, a *ba'alat*. The name was thus the equivalent of Arab. *dhā* (fem. *dhāt*), 'he of, possessor of,' which in the South Arabian inscriptions alternates with *ba'al* in names of gods. In Babylonian the common noun *bēl* (= *ba'al*) developed the secondary meaning of 'master,' or 'lord,' and, corresponding to this, in the Assyro-Babylonian religion *bēl* described the god as an 'owner' or 'lord' of persons. Thus in their inscriptions the Assyrian kings group the great gods of the nation under the general formula *bēlē rabāte bēlēya*, 'the great lords, my lords.' In such cases we have *ba'als* of tribes and *ba'als* of persons, but this conception is

not found among the other Semites and cannot be primitive. Corresponding to the original usage which limited the name *ba'al* to owners of things, the *b'ālim* are elsewhere uniformly regarded as proprietors of objects and of places, not as owners of persons. Lords of tribes or of individuals are *'ēlōhīm*, *'ādōnēm*, *m'lākhīm*, *rabbīm*, *martn*, but never *b'ālim*. One never meets *Ba'al-Israel*, *Ba'al-Moab*, *Ba'al-Ammon*, as one meets *Ba'al-Sidon*, *Ba'al-Lebanon*, *Ba'al-Moab*, but instead *'Elōhē* or *Melek-Israel*, *-Moab*, *-Ammon*.

In Bab.-Assyr. the worshipper addresses his god as *Bēli*, 'my lord,' or *Bēlti*, 'my lady' (cf. *Madonna*, *Notre Dame*); but this is not found in the other dialects, except where there is direct borrowing from the Babylonian. This is the case in *Bēlti* of Palmyra (de Vogüé, *Inscr. Sémit.* 1868, 52, 155). She is the consort of the Babylonian *Bēl*, who is worshipped alongside of the native *Bōl*. The *Ba'alat* of Gebal appears in Greek and Latin writers as *Bēltis* (= *Βέλτις*), *Bēlātis* (Abydenus in Müller, *FHG* iv. 283, 9), *Βήλτης* (Hesychius, s.v.), *Βαδλῆτις* (Philo Byblius in *FHG* iii. 569, 25), *Balti* (*CIL* iii. Suppl. 10393, 10964); but this is never found in native Sem. inscriptions, and is due to late syncretistic identification of the *Ba'alat* of Gebal with *Bēltis* of Babylon. The same is true of *Ba'darios* (= *בעלן*), 'our *ba'al*,' a title of Juppiter Heliopolitanus in *Chron. Pasch.* i. 561. It is noteworthy, however, that, while the worshipper does not speak of the god as 'my *ba'al*,' he may call himself 'slave of the *ba'al*,' e.g. in the Phoen. proper names *'Abd-ba'l*, and the Palmyrene name *'Abdi-bōl*.

Where *ba'al*, 'proprietor,' is identified with *mēlek*, 'king,' as is the case in certain Phoenician inscriptions, this is due to syncretistic combination of the tribal god of the invading Semites with the local numen of Tyre, and is analogous to the syncretism that is seen in such Heb. proper names as *Ba'al-Yah*, 'the *ba'al* is Jahweh' (1 Ch 12⁵), or *Yo-ba'al*, 'Jahweh is the *ba'al*,' if Kuenen's restoration of Jg 9²⁵ be correct. Here Jahweh, the conquering God of Israel, is identified with one of the local *ba'als*. Thus Melkart (= *מלך קרת*), 'king of the city,' is called the *ba'al* of Tyre (*CIS* 121, *זרן לכלק בעל זר*, 'to our lord, to Melkart, the *ba'al* of Tyre'). Similarly we find *Milk-Ba'l*, 'king-owner,' a compound deity like *Milk-Ash-tart* (*CIS* 123a, 147, 194, 380); *Ba'al-Malūku*, the name of a son of the king of Arvad (*KIB* ii. 173), perhaps the prototype of the obscure *Ba'al-mala-gi-e* of the treaty of Esarhaddon (*KAT*³ 357); and *Malak-bēl* in Palmyra (cf. also Jer 32³⁵). In *CIS*, p. 155, the god *בעל אדניס* (= *Ba'al-Adonis*) occurs; cf. the proper name *אדניס בעל*, Lat. *Idnibal* (*CIS* 139), and *Βεελ-μαρι* (*CIS* i. i. p. 111). Such late combinations in Phoenician do not invalidate the general conclusion that *ba'al* as a divine name designates primarily the owner of a sanctuary and not the master of his worshippers.

If this be true, it follows that there are as many *b'ālim* as there are sacred objects and sacred places which they inhabit. Except in late theological abstraction, there is no such thing as a god *Ba'al*. The OT speaks habitually of the *b'ālim* in the plural (Jg 21³ 37⁸³ 106¹⁰, 1 S 7⁴ 12¹⁰, 1 K 18¹⁸, 2 Ch 17³ 24⁷ 28² 33³ 34⁴, Jer 23⁹ 91¹⁴, Hos 21¹³, 19¹⁷ 11²). According to Jer 23¹¹, they were as numerous as the cities. This plural cannot be understood of images of one god *Ba'al* (so the older interpreters, and more recently Baethgen and Baudissin), for idols are never mentioned along with altars, standing stones, or asheras as part of the equipment of sanctuaries of the *b'ālim*. Neither can it be treated as a 'plural of majesty' like *Elohim*, for, unlike *Elohim*, when a divine name it is never construed as a singular.

It can be taken only as indicating a multitude of local numina. When the singular *ba'al* is used, it requires a noun in the genitive to indicate which *ba'al* is meant; e.g. *Ba'al-Hazor*, *Ba'al-Sidon*, *Ba'al-Harran*, etc. The contention of Baudissin (*PRE*³ 326) that these are merely the local forms of one god *Ba'al*, like the local forms of *Zeus* among the Greeks, is untenable, because there is no evidence that *ba'al* ever became a proper name like *Zeus*, and because the Semites never combined names of gods with names of places in this fashion; e.g. we never meet such combinations as *'Ashtart-Sidon*, *'Ashtart-Gebal* to distinguish the various forms under which *'Ashtart* was worshipped.

If *ba'al* is used without a following genitive, it regularly takes the article in the OT and in the inscriptions. Thus the *ba'al* of Jg 6²⁵, 23³⁰, 31³² is the local numen of Ophrah, 'the *ba'al*' of 1 K 16³¹, 32¹⁸, 22²⁵, 26⁴⁰, 19¹⁸, 22³⁴ (53), 2 K 3² 10¹⁸⁻²² 11¹⁸ 17¹⁶ 21³ 23⁴, 5 (and the corresponding passages in Ch), Jer 2⁸ 7⁹ 11¹³, 17¹² 12¹⁸ 19⁵ 23¹³, 27³², 35³⁵, Hos 21¹⁰ (13), Zeph 1⁴ is Melkart, the *ba'al* of Tyre, whose cult was introduced into Israel in the reign of Ahab (1 K 16³¹), whence it spread to Judah through the influence of Ahab's daughter Athaliah (1 K 22⁵⁴ (53), 2 K 8¹⁸). In these cases it cannot be said that 'the *ba'al*' means the image of one god *Ba'al*, or that the article is used to distinguish the local manifestations of one deity (Baudissin, *PRE*³ 328).

In Babylonian, where there is no article, *Bēl* alone, as a designation of Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, becomes a true proper name; but this usage is not found in the other dialects. The insertion of the article in Heb. and in Phoen. shows that *ba'al* has not yet lost its appellative force.

Only in proper names is the article with *ba'al* omitted, e.g. in the place names *Bamoth-ba'al*, *Kiryath-ba'al*, in the Heb. personal names *Jerub-ba'al*, *Ish-ba'al*, *Meri-ba'al*, *Ba'al-yada'*, *Ba'al-Yah*, *Ba'al-hanan*, and in numerous similar Phoen. personal names, such as *Ba'al-hanan*, *Hanni-bal*, *Ba'al-yaton* (see Bloch, *Phön. Glossar*. s.v. *בעל*; Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 168 ff.); but these formations do not prove that *ba'al* is a proper name any more than the similar formations with *'ab*, 'father,' *'ah*, 'brother,' *'am*, 'uncle,' *mēlek*, 'king,' *'ādōn*, 'lord,' prove that these words are personal names of deities. The absence of the article in these cases is due to the fact that these formations go back to a time when the article had not yet been developed in the various Semitic dialects. *Ba'al* is no more a proper name in these compounds than *θεός* in analogous Greek names. In the same manner we must estimate the omission of the article in names of gods compounded with *ba'al*, e.g. *Milk-ba'al*, *'Adhōn-ba'al*, *'Ashtart-shēn-ba'al*, *Tanit-pen-ba'al*, perhaps *Ba'al-Gad* and *Ba'al-Zaphōn* (see below, ii. 8, 10). When *Bēl* without the article is mentioned in the Greek inscriptions, the context shows that only the local deity is meant. Even in the Occident no one god *Ba'al* arose, but there were many local *ba'als*, whose names were either transliterated or translated into Greek or Latin. Augustine was still conscious of the appellative force of the name in Punic, when in his commentary on Judges (*PL* iii. 797) he translated *ba'al* 'dominus.' Jerome in his commentary on Hos 1² translates it 'ἐχων, id est habens'; and Servius (*ad Aen.* i. 621) says, 'lingua Punica Baal deus dicitur.' In view of these facts it is impossible to agree with Baethgen (*Beiträge*, p. 16) when he says, 'It is clear that there was originally always one and the same *Ba'al*, who stood in relations to various localities'; or with Baudissin (*PRE*³ 327), '*Ba'al* was apparently originally a title of the male divinity in general. Afterwards, when a number of such divinities were worshipped alongside of one an-

other, this word became the designation of the chief god of each locality.' On the contrary, in Sem. inscriptions and in Sem. literature, outside of Babylonia and Assyria, *ba'al* never loses its appellative force. Only in the theological speculations of Gr. and Lat. writers does *Belus* appear as a great god. This syncretism is to be regarded as the work of the Greeks, who were ignorant of the primitive meaning of *ba'al*, and thus were able to identify all the Sem. *b'ālim* with the Bab. *Belus* (see below, iii. 7).

If there was no such thing as a god *Ba'al*, and this name designated merely the individual proprietor of a particular sanctuary, then it is evident that the traditional identification of this deity with the sun has no foundation. It is true that the sun was the *ba'al* of certain places, as Larsa, Sippar, Heliopolis (*Ba'al-bek*), Beth-Shemesh; but this was only one of many kinds of *ba'als*. The moon was the *ba'al* of Ur, of Harran, of Palmyra, and perhaps also originally of Sin-ai (from Sin, the moon-god). Other gods of all sorts were *ba'als* of other places. If *Ba'al-hammān* has anything to do with the sun, this proves only that the sun was the *ba'al* of certain places (see below, ii. 5). By the Greeks and the Romans the local *ba'als* were identified with Zeus, Saturn, and Herakles as well as Sol. Only in the speculations of late writers such as Macrobius, who are disposed to regard all gods as of solar origin, is *Ba'al* formally identified with the sun. This theory has been revived and has been given wide currency in modern times (e.g. Creuzer, *Symbolik u. Mythologie*³, ii. 413; Movers, *Phönizier*, i. 169; Baudissin, *PRE*³ 329 ff.), but is nevertheless destitute of scientific foundation. So also Baethgen's theory that *ba'al* was primarily the god of heaven (*Beiträge*, p. 264), or any other theory that identifies *ba'al* with a single god, goes to pieces on the fact that this word is not a proper name but an appellative.

In the light of these facts it appears that the *ba'al*-cult carries us back to the polydæmonistic stage of religion (see POLYDÆMONISM). Among the Semites, as among other ancient peoples, and as among savages in all parts of the world, every object in nature that could do something, or that was believed to be able to do something, was revered as divine. The objects of worship were conceived, after the analogy of human beings, as living persons consisting of soul and body. The phenomenon was the body, the indwelling spirit was the *ba'al* or 'owner.' In the case of celestial or atmospheric phenomena the name of the divinity was usually the same as that of the phenomenon (see below, ii. 8). Thus Shemesh was at once the sun and the sun-god; Ramman, the thunder and the thunder-god. In other cases the numen was distinguished from the physical object by being called its *ba'al*. This is a striking difference between Indo-European and Semitic polydæmonism. Among the Indo-Europeans *Daphne*, 'the laurel,' is also the name of the nymph that inhabits this tree; *Amymone*, the sacred spring at Nauplia, is also the name of its indwelling nymph; *Athene*, the patron goddess of Athens, bears the same name as her city: but among the Semites the numen of a palm-tree is not called *Tamar* but *Ba'al-tamar* (Jg 20³³); the numen of a well, not *Be'er* but *Ba'alath-be'er* (Jos 19⁸); the numen of a mountain, not *Lebanon* but *Ba'al-Lebanon* (CIS 5); the numen of a city, not *Sidon* or *Gabal* but *Ba'al-Sidon* (CIS 3) and *Ba'alat-Gabal* (CIS 177). This difference of conception is significant for the later developments of Indo-European and of Semitic religion. The Indo-European could never free himself from the identification of his gods with nature, and consequently the highest forms of his religion remained pantheistic. The Semite,

on the other hand, was accustomed from the earliest times to distinguish between the object and its *ba'al*. His religion tended towards transcendentalism, and in its highest form among the Hebrews became pure theism. Apart from this more independent relation of Semitic numina towards the physical objects that they inhabited, there was no essential difference between the *b'ālim* and the nymphs, dryads, satyrs, fauns, genii, fairies, gnomes, elves, and local gods of primitive Indo-European religion (see Usener, *Götternamen*). The *b'ālim*, as a rule, had no names of their own and no identity or existence apart from the objects or localities that they inhabited. Their cult was a lower stage of religion than polytheism, for they were not gods in any proper sense, but only *δαίμονες*, *numina*, spirits. Hence the name polydæmonism, which recent writers apply to this sort of religion instead of the ambiguous term 'animism' used by earlier writers. Out of the *b'ālim* gods might grow by groups of phenomena coming to be regarded as manifestations of a single power, or by a particular *ba'al* coming to be the patron of a tribe or of a city; but, apart from such developments, the *b'ālim* remained simply local dæmons.

ii. CLASSIFICATION OF THE BA'ALS. — The *ba'als* may be classified, according to the physical objects which they inhabit, as terrestrial and celestial. Among the terrestrial *ba'als* we may enumerate:

1. *Ba'als of springs*. — For the primitive Semitic nomad in the desert the spring was the most wonderful object in nature. Its waters gushed miraculously out of the arid sands, giving life to vegetation, to man, and to beast. On it the existence of the tribe depended, and about it as a centre the tribe rallied. It is no wonder, therefore, that it was revered as divine, and that its numen was regarded as the mother of the tribe, the giver of all earthly blessings (see ASHTART, 3). In all branches of the Sem. race springs retained their sanctity down to the latest times.

The following sacred springs may be mentioned. — Among the Arabs: the *Zemzem* at Mecca (Wellhausen, *Reste*², 103 f.); among the Canaanites and Hebrews, *En-mishpāt*, 'the spring of decision,' an oracular fountain at Kadesh, 'the sanctuary' (Gn 14⁷); *Beer-lahai-rot*, between Kadesh and Bered (Gn 16¹⁴); *Beer-sheba*, 'well of seven' (Gn 21³¹ 26³³, Am 5⁵ 8¹⁴); *En-rogel*, near Jerusalem, by the sacred stone Zohaleth, where Adonijah offered sacrifices and was proclaimed king (1 K 1⁹); *Gihon*, 'the gusher,' an intermittent spring near Jerusalem, where Solomon was crowned (1 K 1³³), probably the same as Bethesda (Jn 5²⁻⁴), the modern Virgin's Fountain, which is still regarded with superstitious reverence by the people of Jerusalem; the *Dragon's Well*, also near Jerusalem (Neh 2¹³); *En-shemesh*, 'spring of the sun' (Jos 15⁷ 18¹⁷); *Baal-Gad*, or *Baal-Hermon*, probably the sanctuary at the source of the Jordan at Pania (belonging to the god Pan), or Caesarea Philippi, the modern Banias. — Among the Phœnicians: a spring at Joppa connected with the myth of Perseus and Andromeda (Paus. iv. 35. 9); the 'sanctuary of the spring *Yiddal*' (*Eshmunazar Inscr.*, line 17); the nymph *Ἀνοβέρ* (= עֲנוֹבֵר, 'overflowing spring') in Philo Byb. (*FHG* iii. 570 f., frag. 4, 5); the river *Adonis* (= אֲדוֹנִי, 'my lord'), the modern Nahr Ibrahim, which bursts from a cave in the side of Lebanon at Afka, the seat of the cult of Ashtart and Adonis, according to Lucian (*Dea Syr.* 6) and Euseb. (*Vit. Const.* iii. 55); the river *Asklepios* (the Gr. equivalent of the Phœn. Eshmun), near Sidon (Antoninus Martyr, ed. Tobler, p. 4; Levy, *Phœn. Stud.* i. 30 f.). — In the Phœnician colonies: the spring *Maxapia* (= מקֹר, 'fountain'), the daughter of Herakles (Melkart), at Marathon (Paus. i. 32. 6); the spring *Kvām* at Syracuse (Diod. Sic. v. 4. 1), and the hot springs at Himera, in Sicily (*ib.* iv. 23. 1), both of which were connected with myths of the Tyrian Melkart-Herakles; the spring at Gades, in Spain (Strabo, iii. 6. 7; Pliny, *HN* 97 [100], 219). — In Syria: *Mabbog* (= מַבְּבֹג, 'spring'), the native name of Bambyce or Hierapolis, the sanctuary of the goddess Atargatis (see ATARGATIS); the oracular spring Kandalia, at Antioch (Sozomen, *HE* v. 19). — In Assyria: *Rish-Eni*, 'the fountain-head' (Ashurnasirpal, *Annals*, i. 104). Many of these sanctuaries have retained their holiness down to the present time, being regarded as the seats of Christian saints or Muslim *awliyā'* (pl. of *walī*, 'patron saint'); and in all parts of the Muslim world springs are still regarded as the abodes of powerful spirits, whose favour is sought through sacrifice and offerings.

(see Curtius, *Ursem. Religion*, pp. 94 ff., 113 ff., 121 ff., 163, 270). On spring-worship in general see Baudissin, *Studien*, II. 154-170, and the bibliography there given on p. 154.

The numina that inhabited the sacred springs were known as their *b'ālīm*; thus Ba'alath-be'er, 'proprietrix of the well,' is the name of a town in the Negeb (Jos 19^a, cf. Be'āloth, Jos 15²⁴, 1 K 4¹⁶). In 2 S 5²⁰ (= 1 Ch 14¹¹) the name Ba'al-perāzīm is explained in such a way as to indicate that it meant originally 'proprietor of the breaking forth of waters.' It was one of the fountains that gush out of the sides of the Valley of Rephaim, the modern Wady el-Werd. The sacred river Bēlus, near Ptolemais (Acre), took its name from the *ba'al* that inhabited it (Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 26 [65], 190; Jos. *BJ* ii. 10. 2). In Arabic the phrase 'that which the *ba'l* waters,' or simply '*ba'l*,' means land irrigated by subterranean waters (Lane, *Arab. Lex. s.v.*; Nestle, *Isr. Eigennamen*, p. 126; W. R. Smith, p. 99 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 146). The same usage survives in Mishnic Heb. שר הנבל (*Baba bathra*, iii. 1), or simply נבל (*Suk.* iii. 3; *Terum.* x. 11; *Shebi.* ii. 9), and in the Gemara הנבל נביח, in the meaning of 'land subterraneously watered' (see Levy, *Chald. Wörterb. s.v.*). If the text of Ca 8¹¹ be correct, Ba'al-hāmōn can mean only 'owner of the torrent,' but it is possible that this name is corrupted out of the better known *Ba'al-Hermōn* (see below, 4) or *Ba'al-hammān* (see 5). The title נבלים, which follows the name of Hadad on the Hadad statue from Zenjirli, possibly means 'owner of water' (see D. H. Müller, *WZKM* vii., 1893, p. 50 ff.). On the strength of the Arabic expression *ba'l* for 'land subterraneously watered,' and of Hos 2¹⁶, which speaks of the *b'ālīm* as givers of corn, wine, oil, wool, flax, vines, and fig-trees, W. R. Smith (p. 104 ff.) concludes that the *b'ālīm* were primarily the numina of subterranean waters, and that they became the 'owners' of land by making it fruitful, just as the husbandman creates ownership in otherwise worthless land by irrigating it. These were doubtless an important class of the *b'ālīm*; but in view of the numerous other sorts that we shall consider in the following paragraphs, it cannot be said that they were the only kind, or even the original kind. Here, as elsewhere, the attempt to trace religious conceptions to a single root is a failure. Polydemonism was complex in its origin and protean in its manifestations.

2. *Ba'als of trees.*—In the Arabian desert, trees grew only in watered oases, consequently they shared the sanctity of springs in the esteem of the primitive Semites. The date-palm in particular, whose fruit formed one of the staples of life, could not fail to be worshipped as a divine benefactor. The Garden of Eden, with the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life, in Gn 2⁸⁻¹⁷ is a primitive Sem. tradition of an oasis with its sacred palm-trees.

According to Tahari (ed. de Goeje, i. 922; ed. Nöldeke, p. 181), in the city of Najrān, before the introduction of Christianity, a great palm was worshipped and hung with garments and ornaments at the time of the annual feasts (see Oslander, *ZDMG* vii., 1853, p. 481). The sanctuary of the goddess al-'Uzza at Napla, 'the date-palm,' consisted of three *samura* trees, of which one was regarded as the proper abode of the goddess (Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 85). This seems to have been the same as the tree known as *Dhāt an-nāṭ*, 'she of the hanging,' to which the people of Mecca resorted yearly to adorn it with their weapons and to offer sacrifice (Krehl, *Rel. der vorislam. Araber*, p. 73 f.). By the holy spring Zemzem, at Mecca, there once stood a sacred tree (*Dozy, Israeliten zu Mekka*, p. 93). According to the Qur'an (*Sura* xix. 23-25), the Virgin Mary was nourished before the birth of Jesus by the fruit of a palm-tree miraculously produced out of season.

Among the Canaanites and Hebrews the cult of trees is copiously attested by the OT. According to Hos 4¹³, they sacrificed under oaks, and poplars, and terebinths (cf. Is 1²⁹). Dt 12², Jer 2²⁰ 36. 13 17², Ezk 6¹³ 20²⁸, 1 K 14²³, 2 K 16⁴ 17¹⁰, Is 57⁵ state that they sacrificed 'under every green tree,' and Is 65³ 66¹⁷ speak of sacrifice in gardens. The following individual holy trees are mentioned: the burning bush at Sinai (Ex 3²); the tamarisk at Beersheba (Gn 21³³, cf. 26²⁵ 46¹); the

oracular mulberry tree in the valley of Rephaim (2 S 5²⁴ = 1 Ch 14¹⁶); the pomegranate at Gibeah (1 S 14²); the tamarisk at Ramah (1 S 22⁸); the palm-tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel (Jg 4⁵); the 'oak of weeping' below Bethel (Gn 35⁷); the terebinth at Ophrah, where the angel appeared to Gideon, and where he offered sacrifice and built an altar (Jg 6¹¹ 18. 24); the terebinth of Moreh, 'the diviner,' at Shechem, where Jahweh appeared unto Abram, and Abram built an altar (Gn 12⁶ 13¹⁸), and where Jacob buried the images and the jewels (35⁴), probably the same as 'the terebinth of the diviners' (Jg 9⁷) and 'the terebinth of the standing stone that was by the sanctuary of Jahweh' (Jos 24²⁶, Jg 9⁸); the tamarisk at Jabeah (1 S 31¹³, cf. 1 Ch 10¹²). The *dšherāh*, or sacred post, so often mentioned in the OT as part of the equipment of a sanctuary, was perhaps merely a conventionalized symbol of a living tree. If so, its use is an additional evidence of tree-worship among the Canaanites and Hebrews (see POZES). The persistence of this cult among the Hebrews is shown also by the combination of cherubim and palm-trees in the decoration of the Temple (1 K 6²⁹ 32. 33). Such passages as Pa 52¹⁰ (8) and 92¹⁴ (13) suggest also that trees were planted in the court of the Temple, as in the modern Haram. Even so late a writer as Zechariah sees myrtle trees at the entrance to Jahweh's abode (Zec 1¹¹). The cult still lingers in the Talmud, in the belief that certain trees are inhabited by demons (Grünbaum, *ZDMG* xxxi. 253 ff.).

Of the Phœnicians, Philo Byblius says that the plants of the earth were in ancient times esteemed as gods and honoured with libations and sacrifices, because from them the successive generations of men drew the support of their life (Müller, *PHG* iii. 565). Tyrian coins frequently exhibit cypresses standing in temple enclosures and palm-trees adored by a worshipper. There was a grove of Asklepios (Eshmun) between Beirut and Sidon (Strabo, xvi. 2. 6), a tree believed to enclose the body of Adonis at Gebal (Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 15 f.), and a grove sacred to 'Ashtart at Aphaka (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 55; *Laud. Const.* 8). In the Phœn. colonies sacred trees existed in Aradoa (Lajard, *Mithra*, pl. vi. 1, 2), in Cyprus (Servius, *ad Æn.* v. 72; Athenæus, iii. 27; Strabo, xiii. 1. 51-65), in Rhodes (Paus. iii. 19. 10), in Crete (Diod. Sic. v. 66, 1; Athen. i. 49), at Corinth (Paus. ii. 1. 3, ii. 2. 4; Athen. xv. 22, p. 678b), in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 24), at Naukratis (Athen. xv. 18, p. 675 f.), at Carthage (Virg. *Æn.* i. 441 ff.; Tert. *Apol.* 9), in Iberia (Lajard, *Mithra*, p. 287 ff.).

In Syria holy trees were known at Baalbek (Mionnet, *Médailles Antiques*, v. 302 f.), at Damascus (Mionnet, v. 292 ff.), at Palmyra (Lajard, *Cyprès*, pl. iii. 1), at Antioch (Strabo, xvi. 2. 6; Soz. *HE* v. 19), at Mount Kasios (Servius, *ad Æn.* iii. 680). The early Syrian Christians felt it their duty to cut down 'the trees of the demons,' but many could not resist the temptation to turn to them for help when they were sick (Kayer, *Jacob v. Edessa*, p. 141). For survivals of tree-worship among the Sabians of Mesopotamia, see Chwolson, *Ssabier*, i. 293, ff. 29, 33, 34. The cult of trees in Babylonia and Assyria is attested by numerous reliefs and inscriptions on seals. Most frequently the female date-palm is depicted being fertilized by winged figures that symbolize the winds (see Schrader, *MBAW*, 1882, p. 426 ff.; Bonavia, *Bab. and Or. Record*, iii.; Tylor, *PSBA* xii. 181-184). In all parts of the modern Sem. world holy trees are still found which are venerated with prayer and sacrifice, and on which bits of cloth torn from the garments are hung to serve as reminders of the worshipper (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 448 f.; Curtius, *Ursem. Rel.* pp. 96 ff., 154 ff.). For literature on tree-worship see Baudissin, *Studien*, II. 184.

The numina that inhabited such sacred trees were known as their *b'ālīm* or *b'ālōth*, as the case might be. Thus in Arab. a palm-tree that imbibed water with its roots, and did not need to be watered, was known as *ba'l* (Lane, *Arab. Lex. s.v.*). A village near Gibeah bore the name of Ba'al-tamar, abbreviated from *Beth-ba'al-tamar*, 'house of the ba'al of the palm' (see below, iii. 2; Jg 20³³; Euseb. *Onom. Sac.* 238. 75). With this Baudissin (*Studien*, II. 211) compares Zeus Demarous, the father of Herakles-Melkart in Philo Byblius (Müller, *PHG* iii. 569, fr. 2, 24), which represents a Sem. *Ba'al-Timār*, or *Ba'al-Timārōn*, just as Zeus Karmelos represents *Ba'al-Carmel* (see below, 4). With this is also to be compared the river *Tamurās*, in Strabo (xvi. 2. 22), the modern Nahr Danūr. Precisely analogous are the Arab. names of gods Dhu-Anama (*ZDMG*, 1875, p. 611) and Dhu-l-Ḥalasa (Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 47), which describe the deities in question as owners of the plants known as *anama* and *halasa*.

3. *Animal ba'als.*—In all branches of the Sem. race names of animals used as proper names, particularly of clans and of places, prove a primitive totemistic cult.

Thus in the OT we have the names *Aiah*, 'vulture'; *Aijalon*, 'stag'; *Arieh*, 'lion'; *Becher* and *Bichri*, 'young camel'; *Gemalli*, 'camel'; *Gedi*, 'kid'; *Deborah*, 'bee'; *Dishon*, 'mountain goat'; *Zeeb*, 'wolf'; *Zimran*, 'mountain sheep';

Hagabah, 'locust'; *Hezir*, 'swine'; *Huldah*, 'weasel'; *Honor*, 'ass'; *Huniah*, 'lizard'; *Telaim*, 'lambs'; *Jonah*, 'dove'; *Ja'el*, 'mountain goat'; *Car* and *Cheran*, 'lamb'; *Caleb*, 'dog'; *Leboath*, 'lions'; *Laiash*, 'lions'; *Nahash*, 'serpent'; *Nimrah*, 'leopard'; *Susah*, 'mare'; *Eglah*, 'heifer'; *Epher*, 'young gazelle'; *Achbor*, 'mouse'; *Oreb*, 'raven'; *Arad*, 'wild ass'; *Etam*, 'vulture'; *Akrabbim*, 'scorpions'; *Parah*, 'cow'; *Zibiah*, 'gazelle'; *Zippor*, 'sparrow'; *Zorah*, 'bornet'; *Pir'am*, 'wild ass'; *Par'ash*, 'flies'; *Rachel*, 'ewe'; *Seirah*, 'goat'; *Shu'al*, 'fox'; *Shaphan*, 'badger'; *Shephuphan*, 'a kind of serpent'; *Tola*, 'worm'; *Tahash*, 'porpoise'; *Zibe'on*, 'hyena'; *Sha'albim*, 'fox'; *Leah*, 'wild cow'; *Nun*, 'fish'; *Hoglah*, 'partridge' (list taken from Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 88 f.). For similar animal names among the Arabs and Syrians see W. R. Smith, *JPh* ix. 75-100; Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 1886, pp. 148-187. The worship of the bullock among the Hebrews is attested by Ex 32:4, 1 K 12:28, Hos 8:10¹³, and by the survival of בָּקָר, 'bullock', as a title of Jahweh. Such place names as *Beth-car*, 'house of the lamb'; *Beth-leboath*, 'house of lions'; *Beth-nimrah*, 'house of the leopard'; *Beth-hoglah*, 'house of the partridge', are analogous to *Beth-Dagon*, *Beth-El*, *Beth-Semesah*, compounded with names of gods, and seem to indicate that these places were seats of totemic animal-worship. If the name Dagon be derived from *dag*, 'fish', this is an additional evidence of Sem. animal-worship (see DAGON). The *se'irim*, 'hairy ones, he-goats', of Lv 17:7, Is 13:21, 34:14, 2 Ch 11:15, like the hairy lion of the Arabs (W. R. Smith, p. 119 f.), are survivals of the same sort of cult. In Arabia we find also *Asad*, 'lion'; *Nasr*, 'vulture'; *Auf*, 'bird of prey' (see ARAB, 1. 3); in Babylonia, *NIN-SHAH* = *Bél-shahit*, 'lord of the wild boar'.

Totemic animals were classed by OT writers along with other local numina under the general name of the *b'ālm*, but it was not Semitic usage to speak of the *ba'al* of an animal as one spoke of the *ba'al* of a spring or of a tree. The bullock was worshipped directly, not the *ba'al* of the bullock (yet compare *Bél-shahit* above). The reason for this, apparently, was a stronger sense of personality in the animal. It was an individual like a man, while a spring or tree was not an individual but an abode of one. The only exception to this rule is the name *Ba'al-zebul*, the god of Ekron, whose oracle was consulted by Ahaziah (2 K 12:3, 8. 18). If the text be sound, this means 'owner of flies'; so LXX Βαλ μύια θεός. Baudissin (*PRE*³ ii. 515) compares *Zeus ἀπώνιος* in Paus. v. 14. 1, viii. 26. 7; Clem. of Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 38, ed. Dindorf (cf. Pliny, *HN* x. 28 [40]. 75; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* v. 17), but there is no evidence that the cult of this deity was of Sem. origin. The name *Ba'al-Zebub* occurs nowhere else than in the passage just cited in 2 Kings. Cheyne (*EB* i. 407) holds that this form is a contemptuous Jewish perversion of *Ba'al-zebul* = *Be-el-zebul*, 'owner of the dwelling,' the form which occurs in the best MSS of Mt 10:25, Mk 3:22, Lk 11:15, 18 (see below, 6). If so, this name has nothing to do with flies, and the one instance of a compounding of *Ba'al* with the name of an animal disappears (see BAALZEBUB).

4. *Ba'als of mountains.*—The sanctity of mountains among all the Semites was due, perhaps, to the awe which their grandeur inspired, perhaps to their connexion with clouds and storms.

In Arabia, Sinai was counted holy from the earliest times (Ex 31:427, 24:12). Its name is probably derived from the moorland Sin. It retained its sanctity down to a late date (1 K 19:9). Other Arabian holy mountains were Hira, Taur, Tabir, Ko'aka'an, and 'Arafat (v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, ii. 14). In Ethiopic *Dabr* means both 'mountain' and 'monastery.' According to Dt 12:2, Jer 2:20, Ezk 6:13, 20:28, 1 K 14:23, 2 K 16:4, 17:19, Is 67:7, Hos 4:13, the Canaanites and Hebrews sacrificed 'upon every high hill.' So conspicuous was this cult that it seemed to the Arameans that the gods of the Hebrews were gods of the hills (1 K 20:23, 28). The following holy mountains are known in Canaan:—Hor (Nu 20:25f.), Peor (Nu 23:29f.), Nebo (Dt 32:49, 34), which derives its name from the Babylonian god Nebo (Is 46:1); the hill at Kirith-jearim where the ark was kept (1 S 7:1), the mountain of the land of Moriah (Gn 22:14), Zion (Is 22:3 and often), the Mount of Olives (2 S 15:32, 1 K 11:7), Mizpah (Jg 20:1, 18, 28, 29, 1 S 7:5), Ramah (1 S 7:17, 9:24, 18, 25), Gibeah (1 S 10:5, 13), Gibeon (1 K 8:4), the mountain at Ophrah (Jg 6:26), Ebal and Gerizim (Dt 27:12, Jos 8:30, 33, Jn 4:20), Tabor (Jg 4:8, 12, 14, Hos 5:1), Carmel (1 K 18:20, 30), Gilead (Gn 31:45-54), Hermon (Jerome, *Onom.* s. v. ed. Lagarde, p. 90, 10 f.; Euseb., *Onom.* s. v. Ἀερμών). In the case of Hermon the ancient sanctity is still attested by the numerous ruins of temples that remain upon its slopes. The word *bāmāh*, which in the OT has come to be the general designation of seats of idolatrous worship, seems to denote primarily a 'height.' It is thus a

witness to the wide diffusion of worship on hill-tops (see HORN PLACK). Among the Phœnicians, Philo Byblius names Anti-Lebanon, Lebanon, Kasios, and Brathy as holy mountains (Müller, *FHG* p. 668, frag. 2, 7). Baudissin (*Studien*, ii. 247) conjectures that Brathy is a corruption of Tabor. Strabo (xvi. 2. 16 f.) also mentions a sacred promontory near Tripolis. For holy mountains in the Phœn. colonies see Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 249. For holy mountains in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia see Baudissin, ii. 246. For modern survivals of this cult see Curtius, *Ursem. Rel.* p. 168 f.

The divinities that inhabited these mountains were their *b'ālm*. The name of Serbāl, the traditional Sinai, is probably compounded with *ba'al*. An Egyptian text speaks of the '*ba'al* upon the mountains' (W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 309). In Canaan we find *Ba'al-Pe'or* (Nu 25:6-8, Dt 4:3, Hos 9:10, Ps 106:29), or simply *Pe'or*, as the name of the god (Nu 25:13, 31:16, Jos 22:17, cf. *Beth-Pe'or*, Dt 3:29 etc.); *Bāmōth-ba'al*, 'the high places of the *ba'al*' (Nu 22:4, 23:14, Jos 13:7); *Harhab-ba'ālāh*, 'mount of the *ba'ālāh*' (Jos 15:11); *Zeus Atabyrios* = *Ba'al-Tabor* (Gesenius, *Thes. s. v.* (תבור)); *Ba'al-Hermon* (Jg 3:8, 1 Ch 5:23); *Zeus Karmelos* = *Ba'al-Carmel* (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 78); among the Phœnicians, *Ba'al-Lebanon* (*CIS* 5), probably the same as the god 'Amurru, lord of the mountain' (Reisner, *Hymn.* p. 139, lines 143, 145; cf. *KAT*³ 433), and *Zeus Kasios* of Philo Byblius; *Ba'al-ra'si* = *Ba'al-ra's*, 'ba'al of the promontory' (Shalmaneser II., fragment of annals, *KIB* i. 141); *Zeus Kasios* = *Ba'al-Kasiw*, 'ba'al of the precipice,' in Nabataean inscriptions אלה קסי (Baudissin, *Studien* ii. 238); at Carthage, *Saturnus Balcaranensis* = *Ba'al-Karnaim*, 'ba'al of the two horns,' who was worshipped on a two-peaked mountain near Carthage, the modern Jebel bu Kurnein, where a temenos and altar have been discovered with hundreds of stelæ, dating from the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D., bearing the inscription 'Saturno Balcaranensi, domino, magno, sancto, augusto' (Toutain, *Mélanges école franç.*, Rome, 1892, pp. 1-124, pl. i.-iv.).

5. *Ba'als of stones.*—Among the Semites, as among other primitive peoples, *massēbōth*, or fetish-stones, were revered as abodes of spirits.

Among the Arabs the most famous instance is the black stone at Mecca, which still forms the religious centre of the Muslim world. There was also a holy stone at the sanctuary of al-Uzza at Nahla (Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 39), and at the sanctuary of the god of Petra (Suidas, s. v. *Zeus άπώνιος*; Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ii.). The prohibitions of the Law against such stones were standing in all parts of Canaan, and were adopted by the Israelites as part of the worship of Jahweh (Lv 26:1, Dt 12:16, 27:38). The following holy stones are particularly mentioned: the twelve pillars at Sini (Ex 24:4); 'Lot's Wife' (Gn 19:26); the stones at Gilgal, 'the circle' (Jos 4:3-5); the stone at Beth-Semesah (1 S 6:18), at Zorah (Jg 13:19); the pillar of Rachel's grave at Bethlehem (Gn 35:20); the stone of Bohan (Jos 15:18, 17); the stone Zoleth, near Jerusalem (1 K 19); the 'foundation-stone' in the Temple (Bab. Talm. *Yoma*, 54a); the stone of help at Mizpah (1 S 7:12); the stone 'Ezel' near Gibeah (1 S 20:19); the stone at Bethel (Gn 28:18-22, 31:13, 35:14), at Ophrah (Jg 6:26), at Shechem (Jos 24:27, Jg 8:9); the stones on Ebal (Dt 27:4), on Mount Gilead (Gn 31:45-54). Among the Phœnicians the name *Zur*, Tyre, 'rock,' is perhaps derived from the sacred stone of the local god. Coins of Seleucia, in Phœnia, bear the inscription 'Zeus Kasios,' and show an upright stone standing in a temple (Mionnet, *Mémoires* Ant. v. 276 f.). The goddesses of Gebel and of Paphos were similarly represented (see ASHTART, 4), so also in Syria the god Elagabal at Emesa (Cohen, *Description des monnaies*, p. 680 f., Nos. 128-129, pl. xv. 127). At Nisibis in the 4th cent. there was a similar holy stone (*Beitr. z. Alterthumskunde*, 1880, p. 772; see MASSÉBOTH). For stone-worship in modern Arabia see Zwemer, *Arabia*, pp. 36, 39, 284, and for modern Syria see Curtius, *Ursem. Rel.* p. 90 f.

Similar in character to the *massēbōth*, or 'standing stones' were the *hammānim*, which along with altars, *āshērāim*, and idols formed part of the equipment of high places (Lv 26:30, Is 17:27, Ezk 6:4-6, 2 Ch 14:5, 34:7 f.). In the Palmyrene inscription (de Vogüé, *op. cit.* 123a) a *hammāna* is dedicated to the sun. In an inscription from Um el-'Awamid (*CIS* 8) and in the Ma'arib inscription (Hoffmann, 'Phœn. Inschr., *AGG* xxxvi., 1890, p. 20 f.) the deity 'El-hammān' occurs. Over 2000 inscriptions on small upright stelæ, like gravestones, from Carthage, bear the inscription, 'To the Lady Tanit, face of Ba'al, and to the Lord *Ba'al-hammān*, so and so has dedicated this.' *Ba'al-hammān* is also mentioned frequently in inscriptions from Malta, Sicily, and Sardinia. In three inscriptions (*CIS* 404, 405; Euting, *Karth. Inschr.* 123) the dedication is to *Hamman* without the prefixed *Ba'al*. Rashi first suggested that *hammān* was derived from the late Heb. and Rabbinic word *hammā*, 'sun,' and translated it

'sun-images'—an opinion that has been followed by many modern versions and commentators; but this translation is unknown to the ancient versions. LXX renders *ἥλιον, βελύγρατα, εἰδωλα, τρυφῶν, ὑψηλά*; Jerome, *simulacra, delubra*. No support is afforded to this theory by the fact that a *hammāna* is dedicated to the sun, since, according to 2 Ch 34, the *hammāntm* belonged to 'the *ba'alm*' in general. That *Ba'al-hammān* had solar attributes, or that the name means 'owner of the sun' or 'glorifying *ba'al*', has not been proved. *Ba'al* is never compounded with *shemesh*, 'the sun,' or with the names of any of the other heavenly bodies (see below, 8); it is unnatural, therefore, to regard *hammān* as a synonym of *shemesh*. To take it as an adjective, 'glowing,' agreeing with *Ba'al*, is also without analogy (see below, 10). The suggestion of Renau (*CIS* 1. i. 288 f.), that *hammān* is the same as the Egyptian god Amun Ra, is untenable, because in Heb. his name appears as 'Amon'. The theory of Halévy (*Mélanges*, p. 426), that *hammān* is Mt. Amanus, and that *Ba'al-hammān* is the *Ba'al* of this mountain, is more in accordance with Sem. analogy; but in the Bab.-Assyr. inscriptions Amanus appears as Amāna without the strong initial guttural. It is also hard to see how objects used in the cult of this deity should have been called 'Amanuses.' For such a usage there is no analogy in the worship of other mountain-gods. We seem accordingly to be shut up to the view that *hammān* is a cult-object of unknown etymology, and that *Ba'al-hammān* is the deity that inhabits this object. This is strictly in accordance with the analogy of such names as *Ba'al-tamar*, 'Ba'al of the palm,' and *Ba'alath-be'er*, 'Ba'alath of the well.' From the OT references it appears that the *hammāntm* were artificial products, 'the work of their fingers' (Is 17⁹), that they 'rose up' (Is 27⁹) 'above the altars' (2 Ch 34⁴), that they could be 'cut off' (Lv 26³⁰), 'broken' (Ezk 6⁴), and 'hewn down' (Ezk 6⁸, 2 Ch 34⁷). These expressions seem most applicable to stone pillars similar to the *masseboth*. It is interesting to note that in none of the passages where *hammāntm* are mentioned are *masseboth* mentioned. On the contrary, the *hammāntm* are combined with the *āshērtm* in Is 17⁸ 27⁹, 2 Ch 34⁷, just as the *masseboth* and the *āshērtm* are ordinarily combined. This suggests that the *hammāntm* are only variant forms of the *masseboth*, perhaps artificially hewn, while the latter were native rock. In all probability the stelæ dedicated to *Ba'al-hammān* at Carthage and other Phœn. colonies were just such *hammāntm*.

A survival of stone-worship is seen in proper names compounded with *zūr*, *זִיֹר*, 'rock,' e.g. *Zur-el*, 'my rock is a god'; *Zur-Shaddai*, 'a rock is Shaddai'; *Eli-zur*, 'my god is a rock'; *Beth-zur*, 'house of rock'; and, in the Panammu inscription from Zenjirli, *Bar-zur*, 'son of rock' (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* p. 442). In the light of these facts we should probably estimate the use of *Zūr* as a name of Jahweh (Dt 32⁴ 15. 18. 30⁶, 1 S 22, 2 S 22³ 32. 47, Is 17¹⁰ 30²⁹, Hab 11² etc.). The proper name *Rizpah*, 'hot stone,' probably refers to a meteoric stone or supposed 'thunderbolt' that was revered as a fetish.

The sacred stone was regarded as the residence of a divinity, and therefore was known as *beth-el*, 'abode of deity' (cf. Gn 28¹⁸⁻²², where Jacob calls the stone that he sets up *beth-el*, and Gn 31¹³, where God says, 'I am the God of Bethel, where thou didst anoint a *masseboth*, where thou didst vow a vow'). This name for holy stones was common also among the Phœnicians, from whom it spread to the Greeks and the Romans as *βαλνλος*, *βαλνλιον* (see STONES).

The divine proprietor of the 'house of deity' was its *ba'al*, just as the human owner of a house was its *ba'al*; e.g. *Ba'al-hammān*, 'owner of the stele,' in the numerous Punic inscriptions referred to above. The form *Ba'al-masseboth* does not happen to occur, but is perfectly in accord with Sem. habits of thought, and is the necessary counterpart to the conception of the *masseboth* as a *beth-el*.

6. *Ba'als* of sanctuaries.—In a few cases, apparently, the *ba'al* is not named from the sacred object in which he is supposed to reside, but from the sacred enclosure that surrounds this object. The Sabæan goddess Dhât Himâ, 'she of the holy ground' (*ZDMG*, 1877, p. 84), thus takes her name from her temenos. A similar formation seems to be found in *בעל החרם* (*CIS* 41), which with Renan is probably to be rendered '*Ba'alat* of the inner sanctuary.' After this analogy also we should perhaps interpret *Bal-addiris* (בעל אדרים), who was worshipped at Sigus, in Numidia (*CIL* viii. 5279; Suppl. 19121-19123). If *Ba'al-zebul* be the correct reading instead of *Ba'al-Zebub* (see above, 3), then this '*ba'al* of the dwelling' may take his name from the sanctuary in which he was worshipped (but see below, 8).

7. *Ba'als* of places.—In the foregoing cases we are told what the particular natural phenomenon

was with which the *ba'al* was connected. In other cases the phenomenon is not mentioned, but the *ba'al* is named from the place in which he was worshipped. Thus in Canaan we find *Ba'al-Me'on* (Nu 32³⁸, Jos 13¹⁷, Ezk 25⁸, 1 Ch 5⁸), *Ba'al-Shalishan* (2 K 4⁴²), *Ba'al-Hazor* (2 S 13²²); in Phœnicia, *Ba'al-Sidon* (*CIS* 3), *Ba'al-Tyre* (Hoffmann, *AGG* xxxvi., 1890, p. 19), *Ba'alat-Gebal* (*CIS* 1, 177); in Syria, *Belos* of Apamea (*CIL* xii. 1277); in Asia Minor, *Ba'al-Tarsus* (Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 149), *Ba'al-Gazur* (Head, *Hist. Num.* 631). In all these cases we must suppose that the divinity was connected with some striking physical phenomenon, only we are not told what this was, but are merely given the name of the town where it was located. Sometimes we know from other sources that there were sacred springs, trees, or stones in the places in question.

8. *Celestial ba'als*.—The object with which the divinity was connected was not necessarily situated on the earth; it might be the sky, one of the heavenly bodies, or some atmospheric phenomenon. Thus in Palmyrene, Phœnician, and Punic inscriptions we find frequent mention of *Be'el-shamayin*, *Ba'al-shāmēm*. This name is not derived from *shemesh*, 'sun,' as many have supposed, on the strength of identifications of this god with the sun by late Greek writers, but is derived from *shāmayim*, 'sky,' as Augustine (*Quest. in Jud.* xvi.) correctly translates, '*Balsamem quasi dominum cœli Punici intelliguntur dicere*.' It does not mean 'Lord of Heaven' in any abstract theological sense, but 'the one who lives in the sky.' It is thus the exact equivalent of the Sabæan god, *Dhât-Samâwî*, 'he of the sky.' *Ba'al-Shāmēm* is the Sem. counterpart of *Varuna*, *Ωβρις*, among the Indo-Europeans. It is noteworthy, however, that, while the latter worship the sky directly, the former worship the *ba'al* of the sky (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 3).

Closely connected with *Ba'al-shāmēm* in conception is *Ba'al-zephôn* (*zāphôn*), 'owner of the north.' This was the name of a town on the Red Sea (Ex 14²⁻⁹, Nu 33⁷). A goddess, *Ba'alat-zāphôn*, was also worshipped at Memphis (W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 315). In the annals of Tiglath-pileser III. (*KIB* ii. 26 f.) a peak of Lebanon bears the name *Ba'ali-sapuna* (cf. Sargon, *Annals*, 204). In the treaty between *Ba'al*, king of Tyre, and Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, one of the gods mentioned is *Ba'al-sapunu* (*KAT* 357). There was a town *Zaphon* in Gad (Jos 13²⁷, Jg 12¹), also in Southern Palestine (*KIB* v., No. 174, 16), but it does not seem likely that this god can have derived his name from either of these insignificant places, since his cult spread all the way from Phœnicia to Egypt. *Zāphôn* is rather an abbreviation of *Ba'al-zāphôn*, and that in its turn of *Bêth-ba'al-zāphôn*, just as we find the series *Mā'ôn*, *Ba'al-Mā'ôn*, and *Beth-ba'al-Mā'ôn* (Nu 32³, Jos 13¹⁷). Moreover, *Zāphôn* alone occurs as the name of a deity in the Phœn. proper names *זאפון* from Abydos (*CIS* 108), *זאפון* from Carthage (*CIS* 265), *זאפון* from Carthage (*CIS* 207, 857). The last name is *Ba'al-zāphôn*, with the elements reversed. The name *Gir-sapānu*, 'client of *Zāphôn*,' appears also as the name of an eponym in the time of Ashurbanipal (*KIB* i. 207, iv. 139). These names throw light upon the Heb. proper names *Zaphion*, *Zephon*, *Zephonites*, *Ziphion*. If *Zāphôn* is a god, we may either suppose with Gray (*Heb. Pr. Names*, p. 135) that this is a case of compounding two divine names, like *Jahweh-Elohim*, or, more probably, we may regard *Zāphôn*, 'the north,' as an object that might either be worshipped directly or be regarded as the abode of a deity, so that the god might be called indifferently *Zāphôn* or *Ba'al-Zāphôn*. The sanctity of the north as the dwelling-place of the gods is widely attested among the Semites (Is 14¹⁸; cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 22 f.; Baudissin, *Studien*, i. 278). *Ba'al-*

zāphōn, 'owner of the north,' accordingly, is nearly synonymous with *Ba'al-shāmēm*, 'owner of the sky,' although in the Phoen. pantheon the two deities existed side by side (*KAT*³ 357). The name *Ba'al-zebul*, 'owner of the dwelling' (see above, 3 and 6), may be given with reference to this heavenly abode rather than with reference to an earthly sanctuary (so Cheyne, *EBi* 514).

The worship of the sun, moon, and stars was universal among the ancient Semites (cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 61; Grunwald, *Eigennamen*, pp. 30-35; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.*² pp. 134, 151; *KAT*³ pp. 361-370); but, as noted above, it was not customary to speak of the *b'ālīm* of these celestial objects as one spoke of the *ba'al* of the sky or the *ba'al* of the north. Like animals, they seemed to possess personality, and were worshipped directly as gods rather than as the abodes of gods. By the Hebrews they were spoken of collectively, not as the *b'ālīm*, but as 'the host of heaven.' The same holds true of atmospheric phenomena. *Ramman*, 'thunder' (*KAT*³ 442); *Regem*, 'storm'; *Barak*, 'lightning' (*KAT*³ 446); *Resheph*, 'flame' (*KAT*³ 478); *Rizpah*, 'thunderbolt' (?); *Barad*, 'hail'; *Matar*, 'rain'; *Geshem*, 'shower'; *Tal*, 'dew'; *Hōreph*, 'frost,' are shown by the evidence of proper names to have been objects of worship in all branches of the Semitic race (Grunwald, *Eigennamen*, p. 23 f.). These phenomena are worshipped directly. *Ramman*, *Regem*, *Barak*, and *Resheph* are the gods' own names, and we never meet *Ba'al-Ramman* or *Ba'al-Regem* as the name of a god, although such formations are common in names of men (see below, 9). In this respect Semitic and Indo-European nature-worship were strictly parallel (see ARABS, I. 1).

g. Adopted *ba'als*.—Celestial and atmospheric phenomena that could not be reached in their proper abodes like terrestrial *b'ālīm* often had sanctuaries built for them on earth, and thus by a sort of adoption became the *b'ālīm* of these places. Thus *Dhu-Samdui*, 'he of the sky,' appears in the Sabæan inscriptions also as *ba'al* of Baqir; and in like manner *Ba'al-shāmēm*, 'owner of the sky,' is *ba'al* of Tyre (*KAT*³ 357), of the Phœnician colonies (Baethgen, *Beitr.* p. 25), and of Palmyra (de Vogüé, *op. cit.* 50). *Ba'al-zāphōn*, 'owner of the north,' as we have seen above, is also a *ba'al* of Egypt and of Phœnicia. *Shams*, 'the sun,' is in the Sabæan inscriptions also *ba'alat* of Guhfat (*CIS* iv. 11. 1) and *ba'alat* of Galbaran (*CIS* iv. 43. 3). The sun was the *ba'al* of Ba'al-bek (Heliopolis), and Marduk, the spring sun, was the *bēl* of Babylon. Sin, the moon-god, was the *bēl* of Ur and of Harran (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* p. 444, pl. xxiv.), and in Palmyra a god bore the name *Yarehi-bōl* (ירחיבול), 'the moon is *ba'al*.' On a Syrian seal (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 12) the name *Ba'al-Regem* appears, which shows that in some districts *Regem*, 'the storm,' had become the local *ba'al*. Similarly, various *ādōnīm*, *mlākhīm*, *ashtārōth*, and other tribal gods, that had originally no connexion with physical phenomena, might become the *b'ālīm* of certain places, through the circumstance that their worshippers settled in these places. Thus Jahweh became for the ancient Hebrews the *ba'al* of Canaan, Melkart for the Phœnicians the *ba'al* of Tyre, and Ashtart for the Gebalites the *ba'alat* of Gebal. Certain local *b'ālīm* also became so important that their cults migrated to other cities, so that they became the *b'ālīm* of these new places. Under the name of *Zeus Atabyrios* the cult of *Ba'al-Tabor* spread to Rhodes and Sicily (Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 247). *Zeus Kasios* (= *Ba'al-Kāsiu*) was also the *ba'al* of Pelusium (Strabo, xvi. 2. 33; Philo Bybl. in Müller, *FHG* p. 568). Melkart, the *ba'al* of Tyre, was also worshipped at Carthage and the other Phœn. colonies. *Ba'al-Harran* was also one of the gods of Sam'al (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* 444,

pl. xxiv.). In such cases as these, where *b'ālīm* were not originally connected with sanctuaries, but became their proprietors by adoption, they might have individual personal names; ordinarily they were nameless, and were known merely by the locality in which they had their abode.

10. Departmental *ba'als*.—The *ba'als* studied thus far all derived their titles from the fact that they were the 'proprietors' of certain physical objects or places. This usage of the divine name corresponds to the meaning 'owner' or 'citizen' of the common noun *ba'al*. The question now arises whether the divine name is also used like the common noun in the sense of 'possessor of an activity.' Numina, which preside over abstract qualities or activities, are very common in the Indo-European religions, and by Usener (*Götternamen*) have been entitled 'departmental deities.' Of the existence of such *b'ālīm* in the Semitic religions there is no clear evidence. At the temple of Deir el-Qal'a, near Beirut, inscriptions have been found in honour of Βαλμαρκώδης, Βαλμαρκώθ. This name is translated κορβανος κώμων, 'leader of dances' (le Bas, 1855 = Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 835), which indicates that the Phœn. original is *Ba'al-Marqōd*. *Marqōd* is evidently a derivative of *ragad*, 'dance,' and may express the abstract idea of 'dancing.' This interpretation seems to be favoured by the Greek translation. In this case we have a *ba'al* who presided over a human activity, like the Indo-European departmental deities. *Marqōd*, however, also denotes 'dancing-place,' and may have been the name of the locality where the temple was situated. 'Owner of the dancing-place' could easily have been paraphrased in Greek as 'leader of dances.' In this case we have simply a *ba'al* who takes his name from the locality where he is worshipped, like all the other *ba'als* we have studied thus far.

In an inscription from Cyprus (*CIS* 41) we meet בעל מרפא. This is commonly read *Ba'al-marpe*, 'possessor of healing,' or *Ba'al-m'rappē*, 'Baal the healer,' in which case we have another departmental *ba'al*; but *marpē*, 'healing-place,' or *m'rappē*, 'healer,' may equally well have been the name of a medicinal spring of which this *ba'al* was the owner. This will then be a local *ba'al* of the familiar type.

In Jg 8³³ 9⁴ mention is made of *Ba'al-berith* (cf. 9⁴⁶ *El-berith*). This is commonly interpreted '*Ba'al* of the covenant.' The 'covenant' is then understood of the relation between the deity and his worshippers (Baethgen, Sayce), or of an alliance between Israelites and Canaanites (Bertheau, Kittel), or of an alliance between Shechem and neighbouring Canaanite towns (Ewald, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Cheyne), or of agreements in general, as *Zeus Opkios* (Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xlii., 1888, p. 478). On any of these interpretations the name stands without confirmation elsewhere in the OT, and without analogy in the whole field of Semitic religion. Under these circumstances it is reasonable to suspect textual corruption in the passage in Judges. Instead of בריח, *berith*, we should perhaps read ברר, *b'rūth*, 'cypress' (Ca 1¹⁷). The worship of a Phœn. goddess, *Bērouth*, is attested by Philo Bybl. (Müller, *FHG* p. 567, fr. 2, 12). There was a famous holy tree at Shechem (see above, ii. 2). Or perhaps we should read בארות, *b'ērōth*, 'wells.' *Ba'al-b'ērōth* would then be the counterpart of *Ba'alath-b'ēr* (Jos 19⁸). Less likely is the suggestion of Bochart and Creuzer, that we should read *Ba'al-Bērōth*, *Ba'al* of Beirut (Berytus).

Ba'al-Gad (Jos 11¹⁷ 12⁷ 13⁶) is commonly rendered 'lord of fortune,' and is supposed to be a deity whose function it was to bring good luck; but *Gad* is also the name of a god in Is 65¹¹, probably also in the proper names *Migdal-Gad* (Jos 15³⁷) and *Gaddi-El* (Nu 13¹⁰), *Gaddi* (Nu 13¹¹), and the tribal name *Gad*. The name *Gad-melek*, 'Gad is king,' occurs on a

Heb. seal; *Gudu-bal* = *Gad-ba'al* (Hoffmann, *Phæn. Inscr.* 27) and such names as *Gadi-ya*, *Gadi-ihu*, in Assyrian business documents (Johns, *Deeds*, No. 275, 5; 443, etc.). For the cult of this god in Syria see Baethgen (*Beitr.* p. 76), and in Arabia, Wellhausen (*Reste*², p. 146); see 'Gad' in *HDB* and *EBi*. If *Gad* be regarded as the name of a deity in *Ba'al-Gad*, the difficulty arises that this is an abnormal formation for names of places. Such compounds as *Ba'al-Gad*, 'the owner is Gad,' and *Gudu-bal*, 'Gad is the owner,' are common as names of persons, but not as names of places (Gray, *Heb. Pr. Names*, p. 134). *Ba'al-Zaphôn* furnishes no real analogy, since *Zaphôn* is not only the name of a god, but also the name of a place, 'the north.' If we might suppose that *Ba'al-Gad* was originally the name of a man, and that the place was named after him, the difficulty would be solved; but there are no trustworthy analogies for such a procedure. Baethgen (*Beitr.* pp. 79, 254) regards this as a case of the synthesis of two deities, like '*Ashtar-Chemosh*, '*Atar-Ate*, '*Jahveh-Elohim*'; but this implies that *ba'al* had become a proper name, and of this there is no evidence among the Hebrews or among any of the other West Semites until a late period. Accordingly, it is best to follow with Stade (*Gesch. Isr.* i. 272 n.) the analogy of the other *ba'als*, and to regard *Gad* as the name of the district occupied by the tribe of Gad. The name of *Ba'al-Gad* will then be parallel to *Ba'al-Judah*. Even if *Ba'al-Gad* were not situated in the tribe of Gad, this would make no difference, for, as we have just seen, *b'elim* frequently migrated.

The name *ba'al* (CIS 86b. 4) is commonly regarded as the equivalent of Heb. *Ba'al-yāmim*, 'owner of days,' and is supposed to be a sort of Sem. Kronos; but the reading is very uncertain, and the name may be the equivalent of *Ba'al-yammim*, 'owner of the seas.'

These are all the cases that can be cited of apparent departmental *ba'als*. All are capable of an interpretation which makes them local *ba'als* of the familiar type. Accordingly we are probably justified in concluding that *ba'als* who presided over human activities or abstract qualities were unknown to Semitic thought. Such functions belonged rather to '*adhornim*, '*mlakhim*, and other tribal deities. Thus Eshmun, the great god of the Phœnicians, was the god of healing, and Ishtar of Babylon was known as '*Mu'allidtu*, '*Mylitta*, the goddess of childbirth. From our investigation, we reach the conclusion that the *b'elim* were originally all numina of physical objects or localities, and that the only sense in which *ba'al* was used as a divine name was that of 'owner' or 'proprietor.'

iii. *HISTORY OF THE BA'AL-CULT.*—i. *In Arabia.*—In South Arabian inscriptions *ba'al* is constantly used to describe the great gods as 'proprietors' of particular shrines established in their honour. Thus, Ta'lab Riyam, *ba'al* of Tur'at, or *ba'al* of Kaduman; Hagar, *ba'al* of Maryab; Ilmakkhāh, *ba'al* of 'Awwam, or *ba'al* of Bar'an; 'Athtar, *ba'al* of 'Alam; Shams, *ba'al* of Guhfat, or *ba'al* of Gabbaran (CIS iv. 2, 3, 11, 1, 19, 2 f., 28, 1 f., 41, 2 f., 43, 2 f., 46, 5, 67, 3, 74, 3 f., 80, 2 f., 99, 2 ff., 100, 1). These names all belong to the ninth class noted above, 'adopted *ba'als*.' To express the primary relation of a god to the physical objects that he inhabits, or the sanctuary where he is originally at home, the Minean and Sabæan inscriptions use *dhū* (fem. *dhāt*), 'he of,' 'she of.' Thus instead of *Ba'al-Shāmēm* we meet *Dhū-Samāwi*, 'he of the sky,' who is also *ba'al* of Baqir; and similarly *Dhāt Himay*, *Dhāt-Ba'dām*, *Dhāt-Gadrān*, who also become the *ba'als* of various shrines (CIS iv. 145, 155).

In Ethiopic *ba'al* occurs as a loan-word in the version of the OT as a name of the Canaanitish

deity, but is not used elsewhere. A trace of the old religious meaning of the word survives, however, in *ba'al*, 'feast.' In the Sinaitic inscriptions *ba'al* occurs as a designation of the god of the mountain. Thus *ba'al* *ḥab* *ḥab* *ḥab*, 'in the presence of the *ba'al*' (Euting, *Sin. Inscr.* 327); also in proper names, e.g. *Ausabba'il*, *Garmalba'il*, *'Abdalba'il* (see Euting). In Nabatæan the name occurs in *B'el-Shāmīm* (CIS 163, cf. 176) and in the personal names *Aiti-bēl* (CIS 196) and *Ba'al-Adhōn* (? CIS 192). This *ba'al* apparently has been borrowed from Syria. In classical Arabic *ba'al* is not used as a title of divinities. From this W. R. Smith (109 ff.) infers that the *b'elim* were deities of watered land and of agriculture, who were unknown to the desert Semites, and were first worshipped in the fruitful lands of Syria and Mesopotamia. This conclusion is unwarranted, (1) because, as noted above, the *b'elim* cannot be limited to watered land, and *b'elim* of trees, stones, mountains, celestial bodies, etc., can be worshipped in the desert as well as anywhere else; (2) because there is no evidence that the phrase *ba'l*, or what the *ba'l* waters (= 'Athtar-land) or a *ba'l*-palm, is borrowed from the Aramaic; (3) because the word can be used in such expressions as 'the (Christian) Igal have the cross as their *ba'l*,' and the verb *ba'ila*, 'be *ba'l*-struck, frightened'; (4) because the sacred mountain *Serbal* is probably a compound of *sarw* and *ba'l*. These are sufficient indications that *ba'l* was once a designation of deities in Arabic, although in the classical literature it has dropped out of use (so Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xl., 1886, p. 174; Wellhausen, *Reste*², p. 146; art. ARABS, I. 9). Instead of *ba'l*, *dhū*, which has already begun to displace it in Sabæan and Minean, is commonly used in Arabic in forming titles of gods, e.g. *Dhū-l-Halaqa*, *Dhū-l-Rigl*, *Dhū-l-Kaffain*, *Dhū-Anama*, *Dhāt-Anwāt*, *Dhū-l-Labba*, *Dhāt-Hima*, *Dhū-sh-Shard*. These all describe the divinity in question as belonging to a particular object or locality, and are thus the exact equivalent of *ba'al* names. On *Dhū-sh-Shard*, Wellhausen (p. 51) remarks that three *Sharās* are known, all wooded thickets with water. This god was widely worshipped in Arabia (Wellhausen, *op. cit.* pp. 48–51), and was the chief god of the Nabatæans (Baethgen, *Beitr.* pp. 92, 108). The primitive religion of Arabia was evidently the worship of a multitude of local numina. Subsequently, through trade and shifting of population, cults migrated, and gods became *ba'als* of regions far removed from their original homes. Thus at Mecca, in the time of the Prophet, there were 360 different gods. Under Islām these old *b'elim* still survive as the *jinn* (W. R. Smith, 119 ff.) and the *ulīa* (Zwemer, *Arabia*, p. 47 ff.).

2. *In Canaan.*—The earliest evidence of the *ba'al*-cult in Canaan is found in the Egyptian inscriptions, where *b'-r* (= *ba'al*) is mentioned as a god of the Canaanites and of the Hyksos invaders (see E. Meyer, *Set-Typhon*, p. 47; *ZDMG* xxxi., 1877, p. 725; W. M. Müller, *Asien*, p. 309). In the Tell-el-Amarna letters the *ba'al* of Gebal is frequently mentioned (*KIB* v., Nos. 18, 25, 55 ff.; 61, 54). *Ba'al* does not occur. In the personal names *Bēl-garib* and *Bēl-ram*, the god may be the Babylonian *Bēl*. It is probable that the ideogram *IM* in these letters should often be read *Ba'al* instead of *Adad* (Hommel, *Altisr. Ueberlief.* p. 220; Knudtzon, *Beitr. Ass.* iv. 320 f.; Zimmern, *KAT*² 357). The OT says that the *b'elim* were the gods of the Canaanites, and that they were adopted by Israel after the conquest of the land (Jg 24¹⁻¹³ 10⁶, Hos 2²⁻¹³); consequently it is possible to learn a good deal about them from survivals in Israel. With the exception of *Ba'al-Judah* (2 S 6²), and possibly *Ba'al-Gad* (Jos 11¹⁷), all the place names

in the OT compounded with *ba'al* were probably derived from the earlier inhabitants. The original form of such names was like *Beth-ba'al-Ma'on*, 'house of the owner of Ma'on' (Jos 13¹⁷), which might then be abbreviated into *Ba'al-Ma'on* (Nu 32³⁸) or *Beth-Ma'on* (Jer 48²³). The following names occur: *Ba'alath-be'er* or *Ba'al* (Jos 19⁸, 1 Ch 4³³), *Ba'alak* (Jos 15²⁹), *Ba'alath* (Jos 19⁴⁴), *Be'aloth* (Jos 15²⁴), *Ba'al-berith* (Jg 9⁴), *Ba'al-Hāmōn* (Ca 8²¹), *Ba'al-Hazor* (2 S 13²³), *Ba'al-Hermon* (Jg 3⁸), *Ba'al-prāzīm* (2 S 5²⁰), *Ba'al-Shalishah* (2 K 4⁴²), *Ba'al-tamar* (Jg 20³³), *Har-hab-ba'alak* (Jos 15¹¹), *Kiryath-ba'al* (Jos 15⁶⁰). These names are found in Benjamin, Gad, Judah, Simeon, Reuben, Dan, so that they witness to a general diffusion of the *ba'al*-cult throughout Canaan. There must have been innumerable other *bē'ālim* whose names have not come down to us, since, according to Jer 2²³ 1¹⁸ 2²⁰, they were as numerous as the towns, and were worshipped on every high hill and under every green tree. The existence of *ba'al*-worship in Philistia is attested by the name *Ba'al-zebub* (*Ba'al-zebul*) at Ekron (2 K 1²¹); in Edom by the personal name *Ba'al-hanan* (Gn 36³³); in Moab, by the names *Ba'al-Peor* (Nu 25³), *Bamoth-ba'al* (Nu 22⁴¹), *Beth-ba'al-Ma'on* (Jos 13¹⁷), *Mesha Inscr.* lines 9, 30; in Ammon perhaps by the personal name *Ba'alīs* (Jer 40¹⁴; see AMMONITES).

The *bē'ālim* who were worshipped in the fertile region of Israel where Hosea lived were regarded as the givers of wool and flax, oil and wine, grain, vines, and fig-trees (Hos 2⁵ 9¹²); but it is unsafe to infer from this that all the *bē'ālim* of Canaan had an agricultural character. As the names just enumerated show, there were also *bē'ālim* of springs, trees, mountains, and cities that did not necessarily have such a character. The Old Testament often combines the *bē'ālim* with the *ashtārōth* in such a way as to suggest that the *ashtārōth* were regarded as the consorts of the local *bē'ālim* (e.g. Jg 2¹³ 10⁹, 1 S 7⁴ 12¹⁰). Perhaps we may suppose that, under the influence of the meaning 'husband,' which the common noun *ba'al* had, every *ba'al* was regarded as the 'husband' of an *ashtart*. It was the introduction of this sexual element into the *ba'al*-cult of Canaan that made it peculiarly obnoxious to the prophets, and led them to stigmatize it as adultery (Am 2⁷, Hos 4¹¹⁻¹⁴ 7⁴). The places where the *bē'ālim* were worshipped were known as *bāmōth*, 'high places' (see HIGH PLACE; cf. the place-names *Bamoth-ba'al* [Nu 22⁴¹] and *Bambula* at Citium in Cyprus [?]). The rock-hewn high places that have lately been discovered at Petra give a good idea of the arrangement of such sanctuaries (see Robinson, *Bibl. World*, 1908, pp. 8-21). Such high places contained altars, *āshērīm*, *maššēbhōth*, and *hammānīm* (Jg 6²⁶, 2 Ch 14³⁻⁶ 34⁴⁻⁷). Idols are not mentioned in connexion with the *bē'ālim*, and were probably not found in most of the high places. They belonged rather to the temples of the great gods. The existence of altars implies sacrifice. The offerings were doubtless similar to those which Israel brought Jahweh in the developed Hebrew cult, and to the offerings of the Phœnicians. Hos 2⁹ indicates that grain, new wine, oil, silver and gold were presented to the *bē'ālim*. Hos 2¹³ speaks of 'the days of the *bē'ālim* unto which she (Israel) burned incense, when she decked herself with her ear-rings and her jewels, and went after her lovers' (see CANANITES).

3. In Israel.—The conquest of Canaan by Israel was a process extending over several centuries. The Hebrews did not exterminate the aborigines, but certain clans forced their way into the land, and occupied the rural districts, while the cities remained in the hands of the Canaanites. For some time there was constant warfare between the two races, but gradually hostilities ceased and

they began to mingle. Little by little Israel acquired agriculture, industries, and all the other forms of Canaanitish civilization. With this came inevitably the adoption of the worship of the local gods of Canaan. Agriculture could not be carried on without observing the ceremonies that accompanied the planting of the grain and the reaping of the harvest. Altars, shrines, sacred trees, and holy stones in all parts of the land could not be appropriated without taking with them the divinities that belonged to them. As the Book of Judges and the early prophets repeatedly inform us, 'Israel served the *bē'ālim*'; that is, alongside of Jahweh the national God it also worshipped the local numina of the land that it had conquered. Through this process it was in danger of losing the measure of national unity that had been achieved by Moses, and of splitting up into a number of small communities that rallied about the local *ba'al*. Consciousness of this peril was awakened through the rapid development of the Philistine power. About B.C. 1050 the Philistines conquered Israel, taking captive the ark and burning its sanctuary at Shiloh (1 S 4, Jer 26⁶). Hebrew nationality was now in danger of extinction, and the only thing that could save it was a union of all the clans in a supreme effort to shake off the Philistine yoke. No one of the *bē'ālim* of Canaan was important enough to form a centre for such a union; but Jahweh, the God of Sinai, who had brought Israel out of Egypt, and who had united the clans in a common cult in the desert, was able once more to rally them for the common defence. The leaders of Hebrew thought perceived that the only way to save Israel was to forsake the *bē'ālim* and to return to Jahweh. Some extremists, such as the Kenites and the Nazirites, wished also to reject agriculture, life in towns, and the other elements of Canaanitish civilization that were associated with the *bē'ālim*; but the wisest men saw that it was impossible to return to the life of the desert. If the *bē'ālim* were to be conquered, it could only be by appropriating to the service of Jahweh all that had hitherto belonged to them. Through the efforts of the Levites, the so-called 'Judges' or Vindicators, the Seers, and other enthusiasts for Jahweh, He finally triumphed over the *bē'ālim*, not by avoiding them, or by destroying them, but by absorbing them. The name *ba'al* became a synonym of Jahweh, and the *bē'ālim* were regarded as local manifestations of Jahweh. He ceased to be the God of Sinai and became the God of Canaan, the patron of agriculture and civilization. The ancient shrines of the land became His shrines, and the legends connected with them were retold as stories of His dealings with the patriarchs. The agricultural ritual and the harvest festivals of the *bē'ālim* were re-consecrated to His service. By the time of David the process was complete. Jahweh had appropriated everything that belonged to the *bē'ālim* that was worth saving. Observe how in 2 S 5²⁰ David interprets the name *Ba'al-prāzīm* as meaning 'Jahweh hath broken mine enemies before me like the breach of waters.'

This process of syncretism has left an interesting monument in some personal names of the period of the early monarchy. These are as follows: *Jerub-ba'al*, 'the *ba'al* contends' (Jg 8³⁵); *Ish-ba'al*, 'man of the *ba'al*,' a son of Saul (1 Ch 8³³), also one of David's heroes (1 Ch 11¹¹); *Merib-ba'al*, a son of Jonathan (1 Ch 9⁴⁰ 8³⁴); *Ba'al-yāda'*, 'the *ba'al* knows,' a son of David (1 Ch 14⁷); *Ba'al-hanan*, 'the *ba'al* is gracious,' a Gederite (1 Ch 27²⁶). No names of this type are found after the time of David. In most of these cases it is certain that *ba'al* is not a foreign god, but a title of

Jahweh, who has become the *ba'al* of Canaan, since Jerub-ba'al, Saul and David, were all loyal adherents of Jahweh. In *Ba'al-Yah*, 'the *ba'al* is Jahweh,' the name of one of David's helpers (1 Ch 12²⁹), the identity of the *ba'al* with Jahweh is asserted; so also in *Yo-ba'al* (Jg 9²⁶), if Kuenen's emendation be correct. These names accordingly belong to a period when worshippers of Jahweh were conquering the *b'ālim* by identifying them with Jahweh. In popular conception in the time of Hosea the *b'ālim* were not foreign gods, but local Jahwehs. Hos 2¹⁸ says that Israel has called Jahweh *ba'al*, and 2^{11, 13} identify the feasts of Jahweh with the days of the *b'ālim*. As a result of this process the *b'ālim* lost their power, and Jahweh became the God of Canaan; but the victory was purchased at the cost of a mixture of the religion of Jahweh with all sorts of alien elements. The early prophets faced the problem how to maintain the supremacy of Jahweh; the later prophets from Amos onward faced the problem how to purge the religion of Jahweh from the heathen innovations that had entered it. Their efforts were only partially successful, and Judaism, as seen in its chief literary monument, the Law, is properly regarded as a compromise between Prophetism and Ba'alism.

A totally different sort of *ba'al*-cult was the worship of Melkart, *ba'al* of Tyre (see below, 4), which was introduced into Israel in the time of Ahab. Pressed by repeated attacks of Damascus, Ahab was constrained to seek the help of Phœnicia, and formed an alliance by marrying Jezebel, the daughter of Ethba'al, king of Tyre (1 K 16⁸¹). Such a relation of dependence usually involved the worship of the chief god of the protecting State (cf. 2 K 16⁷⁻¹⁰); consequently Ahab was compelled to establish the cult of Melkart in Samaria (1 K 16^{31f.}). Against this religious innovation Elijah and Elisha warred (1 K 18. 19¹⁰⁻¹³, 2 K 9. 10). There is no record that either of these prophets opposed the old native *b'ālim* that were identified with Jahweh. The golden bullock at Bethel, for instance, they never attacked as Hosea did subsequently; but the *ba'al* of Tyre was a foreign god, and to worship him was to repudiate Jahweh (1 K 18²¹), hence the intensity of the opposition of these prophets. According to 1 K 18, Elijah was successful, and in agreement with this we learn from the annals of Shalmaneser II. that in B.C. 856 Ahab was no longer in alliance with Phœnicia, but was fighting with Damascus against Assyria. Probably Damascus was so hard pushed that it was willing to grant an alliance without the condition of the adoption of its god Rimmon by Israel, and public sentiment was sufficiently strong in Israel to compel Ahab to give up the Phœnicians and their god and seek this new ally. Subsequently Ahab must have repudiated the Syrian alliance and have re-established relations with Phœnicia, for he died fighting against the Syrians (1 K 22³⁶). After his death, under the influence of the queen-mother, Jezebel, the cult of the Tyrian *ba'al* was introduced once more in full force (1 K 22³³). This cost the dynasty of Omri the throne. Instigated by Elisha, Jehu slew Jezebel and her son Jehoram, and exterminated the worship of Melkart with fire and sword (2 K 9. 10). Immediately after this, in B.C. 842, we find him paying tribute to Assyria instead of Phœnicia, apparently on terms that did not demand the worship of Ashur. Melkart never again gained a foothold in the northern kingdom. The problem which confronted Amos and Hosea was not the expulsion of this foreign deity, but the purification of the religion of Jahweh from admixture with rites of the ancient *b'ālim* of Canaan.

The worship of the Tyrian *ba'al* was introduced

into Judah by Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel (1 K 22²⁴ (63), 2 K 8¹⁸), doubtless as the price of a Phœnician alliance that maintained her on the throne. In the subsequent revolution that was incited by the priests Athaliah perished, 'and all the people of the land went into the house of the *ba'al* and brake it down; his altars and his images brake they in pieces thoroughly, and slew Mattan the priest of the *ba'al* before the altars' (2 K 11¹⁸). In the recrudescence of all sorts of heathenism under Manasseh, the Tyrian *ba'al* was once more worshipped (2 K 21³). To this Jeremiah and Ezekiel allude whenever they speak of 'the *ba'al*' in contrast to 'the *b'ālim*.' Under Josiah this cult was stamped out (2 K 23^{4, 5f.}), and did not again gain a foothold in Judah. It was a foreign religion that never appealed strongly to the mass of the people.

With the old *b'ālim* of Canaan it was very different. They were so thoroughly identified with Jahweh in the conception of the nation that it was unconscious of apostasy in worshipping them. All the efforts of the pre-exilic prophets to banish them were unsuccessful. Under the reign of every good king, and after every attempted reformation, the editor of Kings records: 'Nevertheless the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places.' The Book of Deuteronomy and the reformation of Josiah had for their central aim the destruction of the *b'ālim* by the centralization of worship at Jerusalem; but both Jeremiah and Ezekiel confess that the effort was unsuccessful. It was the Exile, which removed Israel from the old holy places and old religious associations of Canaan, that finally eradicated this cult. Orthodox Judaism detested this inveterate habit of the forefathers, and, interpreting literally the words of Hos 2¹⁹ (27) 'I will take away the names of the *b'ālim* out of her mouth,' substituted *bōsheth*, 'shameful thing,' in the place of *ba'al* in the reading of the Scriptures. In Jer 3²⁴ and elsewhere *bōsheth* has actually taken the place of *ba'al* in the Heb. text. The Greek version often has ἡ βάαλ to indicate that the reader is to substitute αἰσχρὴν for *ba'al*, and in 1 K 18¹⁰⁻²³ this alternates with *ba'al* in the text. Particularly in the Books of Samuel *ba'al* has been eliminated from names of persons, although it has been allowed to stand in the parallels in Chronicles. Thus *Ish-ba'al* (1 Ch 8³³) = *Ish-bosheth* throughout Samuel (*Ish-vi*, 1 S 14⁴⁰); *Ish-ba'al* (1 Ch 11¹¹) = *Josheb-bashshebeth* (2 S 23³); *Meri-ba'al* (1 Ch 9^{40b}), or *Merib-ba'al* (1 Ch 9^{40a}, 1 Ch 8³⁴) = *Mephi-bosheth* (2 S 4⁴, cf. the other *Mephi-bosheth*, 2 S 21⁸); *Ba'al-yāda'* (1 Ch 14⁷) = *El-yāda'* (2 S 5¹⁸). *Abi-albon* (2 S 23³¹) is perhaps a perversion of *Abi-ba'al*, and 'Ebed', 'slave' (Jg 9²⁶), of some *ba'al* compound (see Geiger, *ZDMG* xvi., 1862, pp. 723-732; Nestle, *Die isr. Eigennamen*, pp. 108-132; Dillmann, *SBAW*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1881, p. 609 ff.; Wellhausen, *B. Samuelis*, pp. xii ff., 30 f.; Driver, *Samuel*, pp. 186, 195 f., 279; Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, pp. 121-136). In spite of these efforts, however, *ba'al* remained in Mishnic Heb. as a designation of naturally irrigated land (see above, ii. 1), and under modified forms the *ba'al* cult lingered in the rural districts. In modern Palestine, the Jews unite with the Christians and Muslims in reverencing numerous local saints that are only the thinly-disguised *b'ālim* of earlier days. In spite of all the efforts of Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism, one may still say with the author of Kings, 'Nevertheless the high places are not taken away, the people still sacrifice and burn incense in the high places' (see Curtiss, *Ursem. Rel.* p. 81 ff.).

4. In Phœnicia and the Phœnician colonies.—In Phœnicia the name seems to have been pronounced *ba'ʾl*, to judge from such proper names as

Hannibal, Asdrubal (Schröder, *Die Phön. Sprache*, p. 84). The most important of all the Phoen. *b'ālīm* was 'our lord Melkart, the *ba'al* of Tyre' (CIS 121). He is mentioned in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'al, king of Tyre (KAT³ 357), as (*ilu*) *Mi-il-kar-ti*, one of the great gods of Tyre. His name Melkart (= *Melek-kiryath*, 'king of the city') shows that he was originally a tribal god who was identified with the local *ba'al*, just as Jahweh was identified with the *b'ālīm* of Canaan. In all the names of the kings of Tyre the element *ba'al* refers to Melkart: thus, *Abi-ba'al*, the father of Hiram; *Ba'al-azar I.*, the contemporary of Rehoboam; *Eth-ba'al* (Assyr. *Tu-ba'-lu*), the contemporary of Ahab (1 K 16³¹); *Ba'al-azar II.*, the successor of Eth-ba'al; *Ba'al I.*, the contemporary of Sennacherib; *Eth-ba'al II.*, the contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar; *Ba'al II.* (B.C. 573-564), and somewhat later *Mer-ba'al*. He is also the *ba'al* meant in the numerous Tyrian proper names compounded with this name (see Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* 239 ff.). Under the name of Herakles his temple at Tyre is mentioned by Menander in Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3, *cont. Ap.* i. 18) and by Herodotus (ii. 44). In regard to his cult little is known from native sources. Our fullest information is derived from the OT accounts of his worship in Israel. He had a temple, an altar, and an *'āšērāh* (1 K 16²², 2 K 10²¹ 11¹⁸), also a *maššēbāh*, or standing stone (2 K 3² 10²⁸). An image is mentioned (2 K 11¹⁸), and is implied in 1 K 19¹⁸, Hos 2¹⁰ 6). There were prophets of the *ba'al* and of the associated *'āšērāh* (1 K 18¹⁹), also *Chemarim*, or priests of the *ba'al* (2 K 23⁵, Zeph 1⁴). The bullock was sacrificed to him (1 K 18²⁸). Like other *m'lākhīm*, Melkart received human sacrifice (see under art. AMMONITES, vol. i. p. 391; and cf. Jer 19⁵ 32³⁵), but this was in his capacity as *melek* and not as *ba'al*. From this the inference cannot be drawn that such sacrifices were customary in the service of other *b'ālīm*. Kissing his image is mentioned as a rite in 1 K 19¹⁸; dancing round the altar, and cutting the body with knives and shouting the name of the god, in 1 K 18²⁶⁻²⁸.

Distinguished from *Ba'al-Melkart* in the treaty of Esarhaddon, in spite of its identical etymology, is *Ba'al-ma-la-gi-e* (KAT³ 357). This is apparently *Ba'al-Malki*, 'Ba'al my king,' and is the same as *Milk-ba'al* of the Phoenician colonies (CIS 123a, 147, 194, 380). What his character was, and how he was differentiated from Melkart is unknown. *Ba'al-sa-me-me* = *Ba'al-shāmēm*, 'owner of the sky' (see above, ii. 8), is also mentioned as one of the great gods of Tyre in the treaty of Esarhaddon (KAT³ 357). In an inscription from Um-el-Awamid, near Tyre (CIS 7), a certain Abdelim states that he has dedicated to *Ba'al-shāmēm* a doorway and its doors, that it may serve as a memorial of him and a good name under the feet of his lord *Ba'al-shāmēm*. Philo Byblius also records the worship of *Βεελσαμην* in Phoenicia (Müller, *FHG* p. 566). Menander and Diodorus in Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3; *cont. Ap.* i. 17 f.) speak of the golden pillar in the temple of *Zeus Olympios* (*Ba'al-shāmēm*), which they distinguish from the temple of Herakles (Melkart). Herodotus (ii. 44) also distinguishes the temple of the Thasian Herakles from that of Melkart. As a different deity from *Ba'al-shāmēm* the treaty of Esarhaddon mentions *Ba'al-ša-pu-nu* = *Ba'al-zāphōn*, 'owner of the north' (see above, ii. 8). *Ba'al-hammān* (see above, ii. 5) is apparently mentioned in the Ma'sub inscription, line 3 (RA, 1885, p. 380 ff.), and in the second inscription from Um-el-Awamid (CIS i. 8). Besides these *b'ālīm* which had risen to the rank of great gods, there were numerous local *b'ālīm* of a more primitive character. *Ba'al-Lebanon* is mentioned in CIS 5

(see above, ii. 4). The worship of *Zeus Atabyrios* (= *Ba'al-Tabor*) in the Phoenician colonies makes it certain that he must also have been worshipped in the mother-country (see above, ii. 4). The river *Belus*, near Acre, proves the existence of a local *ba'al* of the stream (see above, ii. 1). *Ba'al-Šidon* is mentioned in CIS 3. With him was associated *'Ashtart shem-ba'al*, 'Ashtart name of the *ba'al*.' He still survives in *Neby Saïda*, the Muslim patron saint of modern Šidon. At Deir el-Qal'a, near Beirut, there was *Ba'al-Marqūd* (see above, ii. 10), and *Ba'al-rosh*, 'owner of the promontory,' at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb just north of Beirut (KAT³ 43). At Gebal 'Ashtart was worshipped as the local *ba'alat* in connexion with her spouse Adonis (CIS 1; KIB v., No. 55; Philo Bybl., ed. Müller, p. 569; Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 6; see ASHTART).

In the Phoenician colonies all the great *b'ālīm* of the mother-country were worshipped, and in addition a number of new local *b'ālīm*. *Ba'al-Zāphōn* is found in Egypt (Ex 14²⁻⁹, Nu 33⁷), and in the proper name *Bod-Zāphōn* at Abydos (CIS 108); also *Ba'alti-šapunā* at Memphis (Müller, *Asien*, p. 315). *Zeus Kasios* (= *Ba'al-Kāsiw*) was transplanted from his mountain near Antioch to Pelusium (see above, ii. 9). In Cyprus we find Melkart the *ba'al* of Tyre (CIS 88, 3-7) and the proper name *Abd-Melkart* (CIS 14, 7); *Zeus Keravunos* (Waddington, 2739), who in a Palmyrene bilingual is equated with *Ba'al-shāmēm* (de Vogüé, 50=le Bas, iii. 2631); *Ba'al-Lebanon* (CIS 5); *Ba'al-Mrp'* (CIS 41) and *Ba'al-ymm* (CIS 84b, 4; see above, ii. 10). In Rhodes there is *Zeus Atabyrios* (= *Ba'al-Tabor*) (see Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 247); in Coreyra, *Zeus Kasios* (Baudissin, ii. 243); in Thasos, *Melkart* (Paus. v. 25; Herod. ii. 44). At Carthage, Melkart the *ba'al* of Tyre appears frequently in proper names, e.g. *'Abd-Melkart* (CIS 179, 234, and often). *'Abd-Melkar* (Euting, *Karth. Inschr.* 18 = *Ammicar*, CIL viii. 68), *Ammat-Melkart* or *Mat-Melkart* (Euting, 153, 320), *Bod-Melkart* (Euting, 28, 261) = *Bodmilcar* (CIL 9618), *Hat-Melkart* (Euting, 213), *Ba'm-Melkart* for *Ba'l-Melkart* (Euting, 15), *Melkart-mashal* (Euting, 130), *Melkart-halaz* (CIS 234; Euting, 48), *Han-Melkart* (Euting, 165), and many others. The compound deity Milk-Ba'al is also found, as in Phoenicia (CIS 123a, 147, 194). *Ba'al-Adon* (CIS i. p. 155) is a combination of the *ba'al* of Tyre with the *Adonis* of Gebal. *Ba'al-shāmēm* also appears (CIS 379). In Plautus (*Poenulus*, 1027), Hanno swears *guneb Balsamem* (= גונב בלסמם). Augustine also knows him as a Punic deity (PL iii. 797). The worship of *Ba'al-Zāphōn* at Carthage is attested by the proper names *Zāphōn-ba'al* (CIS 207, 857) and *'Abd-Zāphōn* (CIS 265). *Ba'al-hammān* (see above, ii. 5) attained at Carthage the rank of a patron deity. More inscriptions have been found in honour of him than of any other Punic god. In Carthage itself he is always associated with the goddess Tanit, whose name stands first, showing that she was considered the more important deity. In the Carthaginian dependencies *Ba'al-hammān* is named alone. The god is represented with rays surrounding his head, and holds a tree in his hand. Above him stands the sun. On another stela he grasps a grape-vine with his right hand and a pomegranate with his left. Still other stelae bear representations of palms, flowers, and fishes. The god is thus seen to have been a patron of fertility, like the *b'ālīm* of Canaan (see Gesenius, *Phæn. Monumenta*, 'Numid.' i. ii. iv.). Balcaranensis (= *Ba'al-Karnaim*, 'owner of the two horns'), was a local divinity who was worshipped on a two-peaked mountain near Carthage (see above, ii. 4). *Ba'al-at-ha-hdrt* and *Bal-addiris* are also local Numidian deities (see above, ii. 6). In Malta, Melkart *ba'al*

of Tyre is named in inscriptions on two votive pillars (CIS 121). Another pillar from Malta bears the inscription, 'Pillar of Milk-Ba'al, which Nahum has placed for Ba'al Hamman the lord, because he has heard the voice of his words' (CIS 123a). This shows syncretism of the already compound deity Milk-Ba'al with Ba'al-hammân. In Sicily we find a *Rosh-Melkart* (Renan, *Mission*, p. 145) and *Zeus Atabyrios* (= Ba'al - Tabor, see Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 247); in Sardinia, the proper names 'Abd-Melkart (CIS 152) and Bod-Melkart (CIS 138), Milk-Ba'al and Ba'al-hammân (CIS 147), Ba'al-shâmêm (CIS 139). The sacrificial tablet of Marseilles belonged perhaps to a temple of Ba'al-zaphôn (CIS i. 227). At Tartessus in Spain the Tyrian Hercules (Melkart) was worshipped (Arrian, *Alex.* ii. 16. 5); also at Gades (Scholz, *Götterdienst*, p. 201 ff.), and at Lixus on the West Coast of Africa (Pliny, *HN* v. 1, 19-22).

5. In Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia.—In the Aramaic dialects the name assumes the form *בֵּל* *bēl* (cf. LXX *Beelphegor* [Nu 25^a. *], *Beelzebub* [Mt 10²³]). The name Ba'albek is evidently a compound with *ba'al*, but what the second element of the name means is uncertain. Hoffmann (ZA xi. 246 f.) thinks that it is a broken-down form of *melek* (cf. *Milk-Ba'al* in Tyre and *Malak-bel* in Palmyra). *Balanios* (= *ba'alan*, 'our ba'al') is given as a title of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (*Chron. Pasch.* i. 561). The Greek name of this place, Heliopolis, shows that the sun was the local *ba'al*. In Damascus, *Juppiter Damascenus* (= *בַּעַל דַּמַּשְׁקִי*) was worshipped with 'Ahtar (= *Ashtar*) as his consort (Justin, xxxvi. 2; *Etym. Mag. s.v. Δαμασκός*). Inscriptions from Damascus show that his temple was richly endowed (le Bas-Waddington, 1879; cf. 2549 f.). His cult was important enough to spread to Italy (CIL vi. 405, x. 1576).

The recently discovered inscription of Zakir, king of Hamath and La'ash, which probably comes from a place lying between Hamath and Damascus, states that *Beelshamayin* (written as one word) has given Zakir his sovereignty, and has helped him against Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, and his allies. Seven kings have besieged his city, but Zakir has raised his hands to *Beelshamayin*, and he through his seers has spoken to him a message of cheer. This inscription by its mention of the Benhadad of the OT is shown to belong to 8th cent. B.C.; and, like the inscription of Esarhaddon mentioned above, witnesses to the antiquity of the cult of Ba'al-shamayim (see Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, 1908, pp. 156-178).

In Palmyra, Ba'al-shâmêm, 'owner of the sky,' whom we have met already among the Nabatæans, the Phœnicians, and in the Phœnician colonies, appears as the chief god under the form *Be'el-shâmîn*, *בֵּל שָׁמַן* (de Vogüé, *Inscr. Sem.* 19, No. 16; 50, note 1; 53, No. 73; Euting, *Berichte Akad. Berlin*, 1885, 669, 4). His full Sem. title *בֵּל שָׁמַן עֲלֵי עֲלָם*, 'owner of the sky, lord of the world,' is in the Gr. parallel translated, *Δι μέγιστον κεραυνίω*. Most of the altars dedicated to him do not bear his name, but have the inscription, 'To Him whose name is for ever blessed, the good and compassionate' (de Vogüé, *Palm.* 74-105 *al.*); that he is meant, however, seems to be clear from the Greek parallels which read, *Δι ὑψίστω καὶ ἐπηκόω*. One inscription (de Vogüé, 16) is so restored by de Vogüé as to identify him with 'Hlios; but this is very doubtful. The form *be'el* in his name shows that he is of foreign origin. *בֵּל* does not appear in Palmyrene proper names, and is not used except in the sense of 'husband.' Instead of this the native form of the word as a title of gods and in proper names is *bēl*. Ba'al-shâmêm was probably originally a Phœnician deity. Thence, as *Be'el-shâmîn*, his cult migrated to Syria, Palmyra, and the

Nabatæans. In the Palmyrene inscriptions the god has a lofty ethical character beyond that of most of the *be'elīm* of the Sem. world.

Associated with him are the subordinate deities 'Aglī-bēl and *Malak-bēl* (de Vogüé, 93). Apart from *Be'el-shâmîn*, these two deities are also frequently mentioned in the inscriptions (ZDMG xviii. 99 f.; CIG 6015; de Vogüé, 140, 153). 'Aglī-bēl (*אֲגִלִּי בֵּל*, *Ἀγλιβωλος*) was evidently a moon-god, since he is depicted as a young warrior with a crescent on his shoulders. The etymology of his name is obscure. De Vogüé connects 'Aglī with *אֲגִלִּי*, 'bullock,' as a symbol of the new moon. He was probably the original *ba'al* of Palmyra, and he is meant in proper names compounded with *bēl*; e.g. 'Abdi-bēl, *Ἀβδὶβωλος* (Vog. 6), *Zebad-bēl* (frequently), *Repha-bēl*, *Ῥεφάβωλος* (Vog. 66), *Δαριβωλος* (CIG 4665), *Μαθθαβωλιων* (Waddington, 2579), *Bēl-barak*, *Βέλ-βαράκ*, *Bēl-azor*, etc. (On the use of *bēl* over against *be'el* and *bēl* in Palm. see Nöldeke, ZDMG xlii., 1888, p. 474; Baudissin, *PRE³* 324; on the proper names, Ledrain, *Dictionnaire des noms propres palmyréniens*.) *Malak-bēl* (*מַלְאֲכֵי בֵּל*, *Μαλάχβηλος*), like *Milk-ba'al* (see above, i., iii. 4), is a compound of *Malak* (= *Melek*, *Molech*, *Milcom*), 'king,' with *bēl* (= *ba'al*). The form *bēl* suggests that the deity is of Bab. origin (on *Malik* as a Babylonian god see Zimmern, *KAT³* 469; Jastrow, *Die Rel. Bab. u. Ass.* p. 162). The rays with which this god is represented on the monuments (Lajard, *Cyprès*, pl. I., II.) suggest that he was a sun-god like the Babylonian *Bēl-Marduk* (see below, 6). In the Lat. version of the Palmyrene inscription of the Capitol (ZDMG xviii. 101 f.) the god is called 'sol sanctissimus.'

Another pair of Palmyrene deities that appear together in the inscriptions are *Bēl* and *Yarhi-bēl* (de Vogüé, p. 64). *Bēl*, as the form of his name and his conjunction with *Bēlti* show, is imported from Babylonia. He is *Marduk*, the great *bēl* of Babylon (see below, 6). His name occurs with special frequency on seals (Mordtmann, 50, 51; de Vogüé, *op. cit.* 132, 133, 134). Many proper names are compounded with *bēl* as with *bēl*, e.g. *Ela-bēl* (*Ἐλάβηλος*), *Bēl-aqab* (*Βηλάκαβος*), *Bēl-barak*, *Βέλ-βαρί* (*Βηλσοῦρου*), *Nūr-bēl* (*Νουρβήλου*), 'Abdi-bēl (see Ledrain, *Dictionnaire*). As in Babylon, so in Palmyra *Bēl* is a solar deity. Seals bearing his name show also the disc of the sun (Mordtmann, 77, 78), and one seal (Mordtmann, 77) bears the two names *Bēl*, *Shemesh*. As in Babylonia, *Bēl* has his consort *Bēlti*, 'my lady' (de Vogüé, 52, 155). *Bēl's* *paredros* *Yarhi-bēl* (*Ἰαρβήλος*) has the masculine predicates *אֱלֹהִים* and *θεός*. The name is compounded of *ny*, 'the moon,' and *ba'al* (de Vogüé, 93; Waddington, 2571c). *Yarhi* alone occurs as a personal name (de Vogüé, 16). To *Yarhi-bēl* a medicinal spring called 'Εφκα (= *εφεκ*) was dedicated (de Vogüé, 99; Waddington, 2571c). Like 'Aglī-bēl, *Yarhi-bēl* is to be regarded as a genuine Palmyrene deity. How these two moon-ba'als came to be worshipped side by side, or how they were differentiated from one another, is unknown. Still another Palmyrene *ba'al* seems to be found in *Bwādāth*, known to Damascus (in Photius, cod. 242). This is a compound of the two gods *Bēl* and 'Ate (see 'ATE). On the *ba'al*-cult at Palmyra see de Vogüé, *Palmyra*; and Baethgen, *Beiträge*, pp. 81-88.

A Ba'al of Apamea, 'fortunæ rector mentisque magister,' is mentioned in a Gallic inscription (CIL xii. 1277). From him Caracalla received an oracle, according to Dio Cass. (lxxviii. 8). He is perhaps to be identified with *Zeus Baitokaikeus*, the *ba'al* of the village of Baitokaike, near Apamea (CIG 4474=Le Bas, 2720a; CIL iii. 184 and p. 972). Specially famous was *Zeus Kasios* (= Ba'al-Kāsiw), whose cult we have found al-

ready in Egypt. Among the Nabataeans he appears as *Kašiw* or *Ela Kašiw* (de Vogüé, *Syr. Cent. Nabat.* iv. 2, vi. 2, vii. 1, 2; *Hauran.* v.). Baudissin conjectures that he is the same as *Kozc*, the chief god of the Edomites (see EDOMITES). He was worshipped on a lofty mountain on the sea-coast near Antioch. His name, which is evidently derived from the root *כש*, 'cut oil,' de Vogüé refers to the 'precipice' on which his temple stood. Baudissin thinks that it rather means 'decider, judge.' The former interpretation is more in accordance with the local character of most *ba'al* names. At his sanctuary a feast was celebrated by the people of Antioch (Strabo, xvi. 2. 5). Seleucus Nicator obtained an oracle from him concerning the building of Seleucia (Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 199). The emperor Julian also consulted him (*Misopog.*, ed. Spanheim, p. 361; Ammianus Marcellinus, xx. 14. 4). Trajan dedicated gifts to his temple, and an epigram of Hadrian was preserved there (Suidas, s.v. *Κάσιον ἔπος*). Euhemerus (in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ii. 2) and Philo Byblius (*FHG*, p. 566) say that Kasios was formerly a ruler of this part of the country. Coins of Northern Syria bear the name *Zeus Kasios*, and show the sacred stone of the god standing in his temple (Mionnet, *Description des médailles*, iv. 276-280). It is evident that *Ba'al-Kašiw* was one of the chief divinities of Northern Syria (on his cult see de Vogüé, *Syr. Cent. Inscriptions*, pp. 103-105; Scholz, *Götzendienst*, p. 144; Baudissin, *Studien*, ii. 238-242). The famous *Ba'alat* of Mabbog (Bambyce, Hierapolis), on the road between Antioch and the Euphrates, was Atargatis (see ATARGATIS). At Sam'al (Zenjirli), at the foot of Mt. Amanus, *Ba'al-Harran*, i.e. Sin, the moon-god of Harran, was worshipped (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* p. 444, pl. xxiv.). At Tarsus there was a *Zeus Tarsios* = *תארסיוס* (Scholz, *Götzendienst*, p. 149). In Cappadocia the name *Ba'al-Gazur* appears on coins of Ariarathes I. († B.C. 322) that were probably minted in the old capital Gaziura. The god is represented seated on a throne with a sceptre and an eagle, holding an ear of grain and a dove (Head, *Hist. Num.* 631; Reinach, *Trois royaumes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 28 f.).

The *Ba'al* of Harran in Mesopotamia is mentioned in the inscription from Zenjirli referred to above, and occurs in numerous Assyrian proper names of the time of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. This was Sin, the ancient Babylonian moon-god. His cult seems to have been indigenous in Ur in Southern Babylonia, and to have migrated to Harran at a very early period (cf. Abram's journey from Ur of the Chaldees to Harran in Gn 11⁸¹). From the earliest to the latest times he received the homage of the Babylonians and Assyrians along with their domestic deities. Sargon, king of Assyria (B.C. 722-706), confirmed the exemption from taxes that Harran enjoyed as the city of Sin (*Annals*, ed. Winckler, xiv. 5). Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon (B.C. 555-539), rebuilt the temple of Sin at Harran (Rawlinson, v. 64, col. i. 8-ii. 46). At a later date we find the cult of *Be'el-shāmin*, 'the owner of the sky,' at Harran, perhaps through syncretism of the Syrian god with the ancient moon-god (Jacob of Sarug, in *ZDMG* xxix. p. 131). *Be'el-shāmin* is also found in Nisibis (Isaac of Antioch, i. 209, v. 78 ff.; Bickel, *Be'el-Shamin princeps decorum Nisibis*, etc.). From Mesopotamia the worship of this god spread even into Armenia. *Βαρσάμινος* (*Barshimnia*, *Parshamin*, *Parsham*), who had a famous temple in the town of Thoran in Armenia, was none other than *Be'el-shāmin* (Agathang. 131, and Lagarde's note). According to Moses of Chorene, Tigranes brought back his image of gold, silver, and crystal from Mesopotamia

(Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, i. 24, 40, 166; ii. 66, 88). It is clear that during the Greek period the cult of *Be'el-shāmin* was generally diffused throughout Syria and Mesopotamia, and that he attained the rank of *summus deus*. This was doubtless due to his identification with *Zeus Olympios* in Phœnicia, Palmyra, and elsewhere. Zeus was the chief god of the Greek pantheon, and, therefore, wherever the Greeks went, his supposed Syrian counterpart enjoyed his pre-eminence (cf. his titles 'lord of the world,' *μέγιστος*, *ὕψιστος*, at Palmyra). Identification with Anu, the Lord of Heaven, in the Bab. religion may also have assisted in the process. In Syriac writers his name appears as a translation of Zeus (2 Mac 6²; Isocrates in Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 176, line 24). In Dn 12¹¹ *Ba'al-shāmēm*, as a translation of *Zeus Olympios*, whose cult Antiochus Epiphanes established in the Temple at Jerusalem, has been perverted by the Jewish scribes into *shikkūš-shāmēm*, 'the appalling abomination.'

6. In Babylonia. — Babylonia was originally occupied by the non-Semitic race now commonly known as Sumerian. The religion of these people was a polydæmonism that differed in no essential respect from the polydæmonism of the Semites. There was a multitude of divinities presiding over all sorts of natural objects and localities. A male numen was known as *en*, 'owner, lord,' and a female one as *nin*, 'proprietary, mistress'; thus, *En-ki*, 'master of the sea'; *En-zu*, 'master of wisdom'; *Nin-ki*, 'mistress of the sea'; *Nin-har-sag*, 'mistress of the great mountain'; *Nin-sun*, 'mistress of destruction'; *Nin-e-gal*, 'mistress of the great house (temple)'; *Nin-Mar*, 'mistress of Mar'; *Nin-a*, 'mistress of water' (?). By a process common among the Semites (cf. ASHTART, 2) many originally feminine divinities were transformed into masculine ones (cf. Barton, *Sem. Origins*, p. 192), so that *nin* eventually became an element in names of gods in the same sense as *en*; thus, *Nin-Girsu*, 'master of Girsu'; *Nin-a-gal*, 'master of great strength,' the patron of blacksmiths; *Nin-shah*, 'master of the wild boar'; *Nin-gish-zida*, 'master of the tree of life.' Celestial phenomena were objects of special reverence, and gave the religion of Babylonia an astral character which it retained down to the latest times. Here may be mentioned *Anu*, 'the sky'; *En-lil*, 'master of the wind,' not 'master of the spirits,' as many have rendered his name, since Gudea (*Cylinder*, A 23. 14, 19 = *VAB* [*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*], i. i. 114) calls him 'king of the storm, king of the whirlwind'; *Utu*, 'the sun'; *Ur* or *En-zu*, 'the moon'; and all the planets. As among the Semites, these celestial powers became in one way or another the 'proprietors' of certain cities that were specially devoted to their worship. Thus Erech became 'the residence of Anu' (*KIB* vi. 63) and Der 'the city of Anu' (*KIB* iii. 165); Nippur, the residence of *En-lil*; Sippar and Larsa of *Utu*; and Ur, of *Ur*. Through the growth and the conquests of certain cities their local divinities became great gods whose worship spread throughout all Babylonia. If, subsequently, these centres declined in political importance, their patrons still retained much of their old dignity, though they might be subordinated in the theological systems to the god of the conquering city.

At the earliest period disclosed to us by the Babylonian inscriptions, *En-lil*, the god of Nippur, had become the most important of all the Sumerian deities. He was the *en*, or 'lord,' *par excellence*, and was worshipped in all parts of Babylonia as well as at his proper residence. He bore the titles 'king of heaven and earth' (*VAB* p. 15), 'king of the lands, father of the gods' (*VAB* p. 37). As chief of the gods, who had his seat upon the

mountain of the north where the gods assembled, he was called 'great mountain.' His tower-temple at Nippur was known as *E-kur*, 'the mountain house.' All this indicates that Nippur must once have been the political as well as the religious centre of Babylonia; but this was in pre-historic times. In the period represented by the earliest inscriptions (c. 4000 B.C.), Nippur had lost the political hegemony, although its god still retained his ancient pre-eminence.

Alongside of *En-lil* stood his consort *Nin-lil*, who shared the high rank of her husband. She was known as 'the lady of the lower world, the mistress of heaven and earth.' One of her common titles was *Nin-har-sag*, 'lady of the great mountain,' with reference to her supremacy on the mountain of the gods. Associated with *En-lil* as the greatest gods of the Sumerian pantheon were *Anu*, 'the sky,' and *En-ki*, 'lord of the sea.' *Anu* is mentioned in the earliest inscriptions, and, like *En-lil*, had temples in all parts of Babylonia. *En-ki*, otherwise known as *E-a*, 'house of water,' was the patron-god of Eridu. In pre-historic times this city lay at the head of the Persian Gulf, and must have been politically one of the most important cities of Babylonia. In the inscriptions of *Lugalzaggizi* (perhaps as early as B.C. 4000) the triad *En-lil*, *Anu*, and *En-ki* is already known (*VAB* i. 155), and it is frequently mentioned in the oldest inscriptions. Thus the visible universe was portioned out between *Anu*, lord of the sky; *En-lil*, lord of the earth; and *En-ki* or *E-a*, lord of the sea. There is reference perhaps to this triad in the words of the second commandment, 'the heavens above, and the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth' (*Jastrow, Die Rel. Bab.* p. 140). A second triad of inferior dignity consisted of *Ur*, the moon-god of *Ur*; *Utu*, the sun-god of *Sippar*; and *Nana*, the goddess of *Erech*. The superior rank of the moon-god in this triad was due to the greater political importance of his city, *Ur*.

The Semites who entered Babylonia used the word *bēl* (= *ba'al*, cf. *Aram.* ١٢٣) in all the senses in which it was used by the other Semites, and, in addition, developed the meaning 'master' or 'lord,' which is not found in the other dialects. They spoke of their gods as *bēl*, both with reference to their ownership of physical objects and places, and with reference to their authority over tribes and individuals. The worshipper addressed his god as *bēl*, 'my lord'—a usage that is not found in the other Semitic languages. When they conquered Babylonia, they found the Sumerian gods on the ground, and adopted them as their own, just as Israel adopted the *b'ālīm* of Canaan. The *en* of a particular object or locality became for them the *bēl*; the *nin*, the *bēlit*. The old Sumerian moon-god *Ur* became *Sin*, the *bēl* of *Ur*; the sun-god of *Sippar*, *Shamash*, the *bēl* of *Sippar*; *Nana* of *Erech*, *Ishhtar*, the *bēlit* of *Erech*. The names of other Sumerian gods, such as *Ea* and *Ningirsu*, were retained untranslated, and they were known as the *bēls* or *bēlīts* of their respective sanctuaries. *En-lil*, as the chief god of Babylonia, was known as *Bēl par excellence* (there is no article in *Bab.*), and in course of time this appellative drove the old name out of use and became the common designation of the god, so that, when *Bēl* was mentioned without any qualifying word, *En-lil* was understood to be meant. Thus in Babylonia *Bēl* became the name of an individual god in a way that was never true of *Ba'al* among the West Semites. In like manner, *Nin-har-sag*, the consort of *En-lil*, was known as *Bēlit*, 'the lady.' For many centuries after the conquest of Babylonia by the Semites their language was not reduced to writing, and the ancient Sumerian was employed as a sacred tongue for all the inscriptions in the temples. The result

is that before the time of *Hammurabi* the name of the god of Nippur is always written *En-lil*, although it is certain that the Semites habitually called him *Bēl*. From the time of *Hammurabi* onward Semitic inscriptions begin to be common, and then the name of the god appears written phonetically *Bēl* or *Bēlu*. The old name *En-lil* continued, however, to be used as an ideogram for *Bēl* down to the latest times. The Sem. kings of all parts of Babylonia have left inscriptions in honour of this god. *Eannatum*, king of *Lagash* (c. 3000 B.C.), calls him 'the lord of heaven and earth,' and speaks of *Sin*, the moon-god of *Ur*, as 'the strong calf of *En-lil*.' When he conquers the people of *Gishhu*, it is in the name of *En-lil* (*VAB* i. 14). He speaks of himself as 'endued with strength by *En-lil*, nourished with holy milk by *Nin-har-sag*' (*VAB* i. 19). He owes his position as king to the fact that 'his name has been spoken by *En-lil*' (*VAB* i. 19). *Entemena* of *Lagash* undertook restorations of the temple at Nippur, and constructed there a laver for the god (*VAB* i. 34). *Gudea* also ascribes his appointment as king of *Lagash* to *En-lil* (*VAB* i. 114), and wages his wars in the name of *En-lil* (*VAB* i. 128, 130). *Ningirsu*, the patron-god of *Lagash*, is called the son of *En-lil* (*VAB* i. 123). The temple of *En-lil* at *Shirpurla*, the capital of *Lagash*, was called *E-addu*, 'house of the father,' which shows the superior position that he held over against the local god. *Ur-engur*, king of *Ur*, rebuilt *E-kur*, the temple of *En-lil* at Nippur (*VAB* i. 189). By the dynasty of *Ur* *En-lil* was honoured to an extraordinary degree (cf. *VAB* 196b-c, 198, 200b-d). *Aradsin* of *Larsa* calls *En-lil* his god, who has given him the throne (*VAB* i. 212). Votive inscriptions in his honour from kings in all parts of Babylonia have been found by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. His worship spread even as far as *Elam* (*VAB* i. 181).

The primitive character of *Bēl* of Nippur is difficult to determine, on account of the confusion of this god with *Marduk* in all the later religious texts. From the oldest inscriptions we gather that he was conceived as a mighty warrior, armed with a net, who marched forth for the destruction of the enemies of his worshippers (*VAB* i. 14, 19, 128, 130). The *Creation-epic* shows that in its original form he was regarded as the creator of heaven and earth. He determined the fates of men (*VAB* i. 21, 122). Oaths were administered in his name, and he punished those who violated them (*VAB* i. 14). On his temple at Nippur and the remains there found see *Peters, Nippur*; *Hilprecht, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, and Explorations in Bible Lands*.

The high position that *Bēl* of Nippur maintained for centuries he finally lost through the rise of the city of *Babylon* to political supremacy. Before the time of *Hammurabi* (c. 2200 B.C.), *Babylon* was a relatively obscure place, and its chief god, *Marduk*, enjoyed only a local celebrity. He is never mentioned in the inscriptions of kings who reigned before the first dynasty of *Babylon*. He was originally the god of the morning and the spring sun, who had become the *bēl* of *Babylon* by a process similar to that by which *Sin*, the moon-god, had become the *bēl* of *Ur*. When *Hammurabi* expelled the *Elamites* and united all *Babylonia* beneath his rule, *Babylon* became the chief city of the empire, and *Marduk*, its god, was suddenly exalted to the chief place in the pantheon. He now became *Bēl*, or 'lord,' *par excellence*; and this title presently became a proper name that was used even more frequently than his real name, *Marduk*. There were now two *Bēls* in *Babylonia*—the old *Bēl* of Nippur, who, in spite of the fallen state of his city, was still revered through force

of religious conservatism, and the new *Bēl* of Babylon, who had proved himself to be the *de facto* lord through the strength of Hammurabi's arms. What was more natural than to attempt to prevent conflict between the two potentates by affirming their identity? This step was taken by the priests of Babylon as early as the reign of Hammurabi. All the attributes of the old *Bēl* of Nippur, 'lord of lords,' 'lord of heaven and earth,' 'lord of the lands,' 'creator,' etc., were transferred directly to the new *Bēl* of Babylon. All the ancient hymns and prayers to *Bēl* of Nippur were appropriated to the use of his rival. When Hammurabi and his successors of the first dynasty speak of *Bēl*, and use the language of the ancient inscriptions, they mean Marduk. In spite of this attempted syncretism, however, the priests were unable to banish the old *Bēl* entirely even from Babylon. As a member of the supreme triad—*Anu, Bēl, Ea*—*Bēl* held his own, and was constantly invoked in the inscriptions along with *Bēl-Marduk*; but this was more a religious formula inherited from the past than an active belief. For all practical purposes of worship, *Enlil-Bēl* was absorbed by *Marduk-Bēl*. Outside of the city of Babylon the claim of *Marduk* to be the same as the older *Bēl* was not received without opposition, and there are evidences of a long struggle before it became a dogma acknowledged throughout Babylonia. The priests of Nippur naturally never accepted it, and throughout the entire period of the Kassite third dynasty Nippur retained its place as a sanctuary, to which pilgrims flocked from all parts of Babylonia. The Kassite kings had no special fondness for the patron-god of the dynasty of Hammurabi, and they bestowed special honour upon the old *Bēl* of Nippur (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscr.* i. i. Nos. 28-32). With the fall of the Kassites and the establishment of a native Babylonian dynasty, *Marduk* regained the place that Hammurabi had given him, and *Bēl* of Nippur waned until little remained but the memory of his former glory. Curiously enough, *Bēlit* of Nippur did not share the fate of her husband and become the wife of *Marduk* when he was identified with *Bēl*. *Marduk* had already a consort, *Sarpanitum*, a relatively unimportant goddess, who was in no way comparable with the old *Bēlit* of Nippur. The two were never identified, as logical consistency would have demanded, but *Bēlit* held her own as an independent great goddess.

In the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, *Bēl* usually means *Marduk*. He occupies the second place in the pantheon (after *Ashur*), and is usually named in connexion with his 'son' *Nabu*, the patron-god of Borsippa. The Assyrian kings showed him the highest reverence; and even when they conquered Babylonia, they claimed to do it in the service of *Bēl*, and took the throne by the formal ceremony of grasping the hands of *Bēl* at Babylon. Along with this there existed also the cult of the older *Bēl* of Nippur. The old triad, *Anu, Bēl, Ea*, still stands at the head of lists of gods in which *Marduk* appears as a separate deity; and when the Assyrian kings speak of *Bēl*, the lord of the lands, who dwells on the holy mountain, they mean the *Bēl* of Nippur. Tiglath-Pileser I. states expressly that he restored a temple of 'the old *Bēl*' at Ashur (Rawlinson, i. pl. 14, col. vi. 87). This double use of *Bēl* as a proper name lasted through the entire Assyrian period, and, besides this, *bēl* retained its generic meaning as a title of all the gods. The standing formula for the gods in general is *ilāni rabāti bēlēya*, 'the great gods my lords.' *Bēlit* was worshipped in Assyria partly as the ancient goddess of Nippur, partly as the consort of *Anu* or *Ashur*. Her name is also used as a title of the Assyrian *Ishtar*. This confusion is

due to the fact that the common noun *bēlit* never lost its appellative meaning of 'mistress.' Many goddesses might be called 'mistress,' and then through this similarity of title be confused with one another. When Ashurbanipal wishes to distinguish the older *Bēlit*, he calls her *Bēlit* of Nippur (Rawlinson, v. 8, col. viii. 98, 99).

In the New Bab. period *Bēl-Marduk* regained the supremacy that in the Assyrian period he temporarily surrendered to Ashur. His cult was revived with great glory by Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonidus, and all the attributes of supreme divinity were heaped upon him. Throughout Babylonia he was acknowledged without question as the *Bēl*, and his cult spread widely in the provinces of the empire. We have found it already at Palmyra (see above, iii. 5). Its presence at Edessa is attested by Jacob of Sarug (*ZDMG* xxix., 1875, p. 131). When *Bēl* is mentioned in the OT and Apoc. it is always *Marduk* that is meant. The old *Bēl* is unknown, except in so far as his character survives in his successor. In Jer 51⁴⁴ he is called '*Bēl* of Babylon.' In Is 46¹ he is named in connexion with *Nebo*, the god of Borsippa, the suburb of Babylon. In Jer 50² *Merodach* (= *Marduk*) stands in poetic parallelism with *Bēl*. Cf. also *Bel and the Dragon* (= Dn 14 in LXX), Baruch 6⁴ (cf. 6¹⁰). *Bēl* also occurs in a few late Heb. proper names.

7. Among the Greeks and Romans.—Through Phoen. colonies in all parts of the coast of the Mediterranean, and through Greek colonies in Syria, the worship of the old Sem. *bē'ālim* was widely disseminated throughout the Greco-Roman world, and exerted a deep influence upon Occidental thought. The local divinity was either called by his original Sem. name, e.g. Balanios at Heliopolis, Balsamem at Tyre, Palmyra, and the Phœnician colonies, Balmarcodes at Deir el-Qal'a, Beelmaris at Tyre, Balcaranensis at Carthage, Baladdiris at Sign, Aglibolos and Iaribolos at Palmyra; or else his name was translated into its supposed Gr. or Lat. equivalent. The local *ba'al* was everywhere regarded as the supreme god, hence he was frequently identified with Zeus or Juppiter, the name of his city being appended to distinguish him from other similar divinities, e.g. Zeus Kasios, Zeus Damascenos, Zeus Karmelos, Zeus Atabyrios, Zeus Tarsios, Juppiter Heliopolitanus (see above under the corresponding Semitic names). Other *ba'als* had peculiarities which led to their identification with *Kronos-Saturn*. *Balcaranensis* of Carthage, for instance, is regularly called *Saturnus* in the inscriptions (cf. Alex. Polyh., frag. 3 in *FGH* iii. 212; Servius, *Aen.* i. 642, 729; Damascius, *Vit. Isid.* § 115; Joh. Chrys. on Ps. 105, § 3; Theodoret on Ps 105²⁸ in *PG* liii. 1730). The *ba'al* of Heliopolis, who was the sun, was, of course, identified with *Helios* and *Sol*. *Malak-Bel* at Palmyra is in the Latin parallel called 'Sol sanctissimus' (cf. Servius, *Aen.* i. 642, 729; Nonn. *Dionys.* xl. 392 ff.; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 23). Hesychius (s.v. Βῆλος), the *Etym. Mag.* (s.v. Βῆλ), and Parmenius (in Becker, *Anecd.* 225), connect *ba'al* with *Ouranos*. *Ba'al-Melkart* of Tyre is almost uniformly identified by classical writers with *Herakles* (cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 20 f.). Late writers assert that in Persian *Ba'al* is the same as *Ares* (Malalas, p. 19; John of Antioch, frag. 5, in *FGH* iv. 542; *Chron. Pasch.* i. 18). This variety in the identification bears witness to the multiplicity of the *bē'ālim* with which Greeks and Romans came into contact (see Scholz, *Götzendienst*, p. 148 ff.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, p. 19 f.).

The Bab. *Bēl* is also known to the classical writers. In Servius (*Aen.* i. 612) a dim memory survives of a distinction between the older and the younger *Bēl*, but in general only *Marduk-Bēl* is known, and all the attributes of *Enlil-Bēl* are

ascribed to him, as in the later Bab. theology. Eudemos (in Damascius, *de Princip.* 125) knows that he is the son of *Aos (Ea)* and *Dauke (Damkina)*. Berossus (in *FGH* ii. 497, 4 ff.) and Castor (in Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, p. 53) narrate, in direct dependence upon the Bab. Creation-story, how *Bēl* slew the dragon of the deep, and out of her body created heaven and earth. Of him Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 16. 4) says that the Babylonians honour him most of all the gods (cf. Minucius Felix, vi. 1). The building of his temple at Babylon is ascribed to Semiramis (Diod. ii. 9; Dionysius Periegetes, 1007). Berossus (in Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, p. 48) and Josephus (*Ant.* x. xi. 1) tell how it was beautified by Nebuchadnezzar; Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 16. 4), how it was destroyed by Xerxes and rebuilt by Alexander. It is often mentioned by the classical writers (Herod. i. 181; Paus. i. 16. 3, viii. 33. 3; Pliny, vi. 121; Mart. Capell. vi. 701; Solin. ix. 3). A grave of *Bēl* at Babylon was known to Ctesias (frag. 29, 216; cf. Aelian, xii. 3; Strabo, xvi. 738; Diod. xvii. 102). The cult of the Bab. *Bēl* was never directly adopted by the Greeks or the Romans, as were the cults of the Phoen. and Syr. *b'ālīm*; but indirectly many elements of Bab. theological speculation concerning his character and his creation of the world drifted into the Occident, and re-appear in the worship of Mithra (see MITHRA). Through the Bab. use of *Bēl* as a proper name, and through the exalted Bab. conception of his character as creator and supreme god, the Greeks were led to the idea that there was a single god *Bēl*, of whom the numerous Syr. and Phoen. *b'ālīm* were only the local manifestations. Strabo speaks of *Bēlos* as a great god, worshipped throughout Africa and in Asia as far as Persia (xvi. 744; cf. *Excerpta Barbari* in Frick, *Chron. Min.* 281, 27; Curtius, iii. 3, 16). The form *Bēlos* as a proper name without additional determinative is evidently derived from the Bab. *Bēl* rather than from the Phoen. *ba'al*, and shows that the idea of a single god *Ba'al* is ultimately of Babylonian origin. On the Bab. *Bēl* in Greek writers see Scholz, *Götzendienst* (p. 365 ff.).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the special discussions mentioned above, see on the *ba'al*-cult in general, Selden, *de Dis Syris*, 1617; J. G. Voss, *de Theol. Gentili*, 1642; Gesenius, art. 'Bel' in Ersch and Gruber's *Enc.*; Creuzer, *Symbolik u. Mythologie* 3, 1841, ii. 411 ff.; Winer, *RBW*, art. 'Ba'al'; Diestel, 'Monotheismus des ältesten Heidenthums', *JDT*, 1860, 719 ff.; Merx, art. 'Ba'al' in Schenkel, 1869; Schlottmann, art. 'Ba'al', in Riehm's *HWB*, 1875; Scholz, *Götzendienst u. Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern*, 1877, 137 ff.; Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Religionsgesch.* ii. 1878; E. Meyer, art. 'Ba'al', in Roscher's *Lex.*, 1834; Baethgen, *Beitr. zur sem. Religionsgesch.* 1888, 17 ff.; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites* 2, 1894, 93 ff.; Baudissin, art. 'Ba'al, Bel', in *PRE* 3, 1897; Peake, art. 'Ba'al', in *HDB*, i. (1898) p. 209, and Kautzsch, *ib.* v. (1904) p. 645; Moore, art. 'Ba'al', in *EBI*, 1899.

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On the *ba'al*-cult in Babylonia see Munter, *Religion der Babylonier*, 1827, 14 ff.; Schrader, 'Ba'al und Bel', in *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1874, 335 ff.; Schrader, *KAT* 2, 1883, 173 ff.; Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 1890, 19 ff., 84 ff.; Jeremias, art. 'Marduk', in Roscher's *Lex.*, 1896; Tiele, *Gesch. der Rel. im Alterthum*, i., 1896, 125 ff.; Jeremias, in de La Saussaye 3, 1905, i. 231 f.;

Jastrow, *The Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, 1898, 2nd ed. in German (1902 ff.), and art. 'Rel. of Babylonia', in *HDB* v. (1904), p. 538; Zimmern, *Vater, Sohn, und Fürsprecher in der Babylonischen Gottesvorstellung*, 1896, and *KAT* 3, 1902, 354 ff., 370 ff.; Clay, 'Elili, the God of Nippur', in *AJS* xxiii., 1907, p. 269 ff.; Radau, *Bel the Christ of Ancient Times*, 1908.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

BAALZEBUB and BEELZEBOL.—These two names probably refer to the same supernatural being; or, at any rate, the second of them is derived from the first. Baalzebub (בעל זבוב) is the OT form (2 K 1² s. s. 16), and Beelzeboul* (βεελζεβούλ, WH βεελζεβούλ) the NT form (Mt 10²⁵ 12²⁴, 27, Mk 3²², Lk 11¹⁵, 18, 19).

Baalzebub is in the OT represented as the god of the Philistine city of Ekron, whose oracle was so famous that Ahaziah, king of Israel, sent to consult it, to the neglect of the oracles of Jahweh. The Hebrew word בעל זבוב would mean 'lord of flies'; זבוב = Assyrian *zumbu*, 'a fly' (cf. Ec 10¹). The LXX and Josephus so understood it, since they make the name of the god βάλ μύταρ (cf. LXX, *ad loc.*, and Jos. *Ant.* ix. ii. 1). Aquila supports the same reading by transliterating βααλζεβούβ, while Symmachus supports the NT form βεελζεβούλ. Bezold found, in an inscription of the Assyrian king Assur-bel-Kala (11th cent.), mention made among the gods of *Ebir-nari* (a name applied in Neh 2⁷⁻⁹ to Syria and Palestine) of a god Bel-ze-bu-bi (or-na). Were the last syllable certain, it would show that *Baalzebub* was found there earlier (see *Catalogue*, K. 3500, and Hommel, *AHT* 195). Movers (*Die Phönizier*, i. 260 ff.) held that the original name was בעל זבול = 'lord of the mansion,' which originally meant a heavenly mansion, but afterwards the god of the nether world. This view is of very doubtful certainty, since זבול in the sense of 'house' (1 K 8¹⁸ and Ps 49¹⁴) is very uncertain (cf. LXX). In Is 63¹⁶ and Hab 3¹¹ it is used of a station or abode in the heavens, while in the Talmud (*Chagiga*, 12b) זבול is the fourth heaven, in which are the heavenly Jerusalem and the altar. This would hardly be possible, if in Jewish thought the word had ever represented a region the lord of which was the prince of demons. Halévy (*JA* xix. [1892] p. 304 and *CAIBL* xx. [1892] p. 74) thinks Zebub the name of a place, comparing the *Sapuna* of the el-Amarna letters (*KB* v. 174. 16)—a theory which Kittel ('Könige,' in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, *ad loc.* rightly rejects. The resemblance between Zebub and Sapuna is too slight, and the Biblical text states that the deity in question was the god of Ekron. In all probability Baalzebub means 'lord of flies,' which are very numerous in the neighbourhood of Ekron (see Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, 1904, p. 216 ff.). This title was given as an epithet to the god, whether by the Ekronites or the Hebrews we do not know, though Baethgen (*Beit. z. sem. Religionsgesch.* 1888, p. 25) holds that he represented a process of divination by flies. In the NT, as already noted, the name is βεελζεβούλ and is applied to the lord of the devils, and made a synonym of Satan (cf. Mk 3²², 23, Lk 11¹⁵, 18). Cf. above, p. 237^a.

These facts have given rise to various conjectures. (1) The theory of Movers already referred to, that the name was בעל זבול, is thought by some to receive confirmation from the fact that in Mt 10²⁵ οὐκοδεσποτῆς (= 'master of the house') may be considered a translation of it. There is no real reason, however, to consider one of these words a translation of the other. If זבול (= 'house') was an original element of the name, a punning Jew would easily have זבול (= Syr. זבול = 'dung') suggested to him, and might so understand the

* Beelzebub of AV has no authority in Greek MSS. It owes its currency to the Vulgate.

† Cheyne (*EBI*, col. 514) holds that οὐκοδεσποτῆς suggests the reading בעל זבול, זבול = Aram. 'of,' and זבול changed from זבול = 'house.'

name (so Gould, 'Mark,' in *Inter. Crit. Com.* p. 62). (2) It is supposed that the name is a variation of *Baalzebub*, and that both the form and the significance have undergone change. As to the form, it is supposed (a) that the final *b* was changed to *l* by conscious perversion, so as to make it mean 'dung,' as *ba'al* (= 'lord') is sometimes changed to *bōsheth* (= 'shame') (cf. *Esh-baal*, 1 Ch 9³³, with *Ish-bosheth*, 2 S 21⁹); this perversion transformed 'fly' to 'dung,' or 'filth.' (b) Baudissin (*PRE*³) holds that *b* was changed to *l* in popular pronunciation, without intent to change the meaning, as *Bab-el-Mandeb* is sometimes changed to *Bab-el-Mandel*; and (c) Riehm (*HWB*³) held that in the time of Christ *Baalzebub* was Aramaized to כְּלִי-רִיבָּה (= 'lord of enmity'), and so was the exact equivalent of Διάβολος, or Satan.

As to the significance of Beel-zeboul in the NT period different theories have been proposed to account for his evolution from the OT god. Geiger (*Urschrift*, p. 53) thought that the god of the hated Philistines became the representative of heathen power, and so the arch-enemy of Israel. He found confirmation of his view in the fact that, in Aramaic, כְּלִי would be phonetically transformed into רִיבָּה (= 'hostility'). This theory, though plausible, lacks historical confirmation. The Philistines were not a formidable enemy after the early days of the kingdom. Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans took successively the place of principal enemy, and it is hardly probable that the god of Ekron, who is mentioned in but one narrative of the OT, could have continued to hold this place. Had he done so, he could not have escaped mention.

Another view is expressed in the Talmud, which regards the fly as the representative of evil. In *B'rākhōth*, 61a, it is said: 'The evil spirit lies like a fly at the door of the human heart.' Again, in *B'rākhōth*, 10b, it is said that the Shunammite woman (2 K 4⁸ ff.) perceived that Elisha was a man of God, because no fly crossed his table. This estimate of the fly goes back to the *Mishna*, for in *Abōth*, 5⁸, we read: 'A fly, being an impure thing, was never seen in the slaughter-house of the temple.' In reality the revival of interest in *Baalzebub* in the NT was due to literary causes. Cheyne has pointed out that Lk 9³⁴ shows that in the time of Christ the narrative of 2 K 1 possessed a strange fascination for people. Probably both the hostility to *Baalzebub* expressed in that narrative and the perversion of his name into the Aramaic כְּלִי רִיבָּה (= 'lord of hostility') helped this literary interest to make Beel-zebub a synonym of Satan. As the name meant 'lord of flies,' this would be sufficient to call into existence the Talmudic conception that the fly is a kind of imp, especially as Lv 11 and Dt 14 imply that it was to be reckoned among unclean flying things.

The change of *zebub* to *zeboul* in the NT was, no doubt, due to conscious perversion. In addition to the analogy of *bōsheth*, cited above, the Talmud (*Abōdā zārā*, 18b, cf. Dalman, *Aram. Gram.* p. 137) shows that כְּלִי was applied to the sacrifices of the heathen was changed to כְּלִי ('dung').

LITERATURE.—Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ* on Mt 12²⁴, Lk 11¹⁶; Movers, *Phönizier*, 1841, I. 260 ff.; Geiger, *Urschrift*, Breslau, 1857, p. 53; Riehm, *HWB*²; Baudissin, *PRE*³; Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 1895-1900, I. 223, 225; Peake, in Hastings' *DB* I. 211^b; Cheyne, *EB*, col. 407 ff.; Kohler, *JE* II. 629^b; Kittel, 'Könige,' in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, p. 182; Allen, 'Matthew' (Edin. 1907), in *Inter. Crit. Comm.* p. 107; Gould, 'Mark,' 1896 (*ib.*), p. 62; Plummer, 'Luke,' 1898 (*ib.*), p. 301.

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BĀB, BĀBIS.—*Bāb* (باب) = 'Gate' in Arabic) was the title first assumed by Mirzā 'Alī Muḥammad, a young Sayyid of Shirāz, who in A.H. 1260 (= A.D. 1844) began to preach a new religion,

which spread through Persia with extraordinary rapidity, and, in spite of violent persecutions, culminating in the execution of the founder on July 9, 1850, and of some twenty-eight of his principal disciples on September 15, 1852, has continued to gain strength until the present day. Both the history and the doctrines of this religion present so many remarkable features, that the subject has, almost from the first, attracted a great deal of attention, not only in the East but in Europe, and latterly in America; and the literature dealing with it, even in European languages, is very extensive; while the Arabic and Persian writings, manuscript, lithographed and printed, connected with it are so numerous and, in some cases, so voluminous, that it would hardly be possible for the most industrious student to read in their entirety even those which are accessible in half a dozen of the best-known collections in Europe. An exhaustive treatment of the subject is therefore impossible, and we must content ourselves with a sketch of the most important outlines of the history, doctrines, and literature of the religion in question.

1. Antecedents.—In order to understand properly the origins and developments of Bābī doctrine, it is, of course, essential to have a fair knowledge of Islām, and especially of that form of Islām (the doctrine of the *Ithnā 'ashariyya* division of the Shi'a, or 'Sect of the Twelve' Imāms), of which Persia has from the earliest Muhammadan times been the stronghold, and which, since the 16th cent. of our era, has been the State religion of that kingdom. Information on this subject must be sought elsewhere in this Encyclopædia under the appropriate headings; but, even for the most elementary comprehension of the early Bābī doctrine, it is essential to grasp the Shi'ite doctrine of the Imāmate, and especially the Messianic teaching concerning the Twelfth Imām, or Imām Mahdī.

According to the Shi'ite view, the prophet Muḥammad appointed to succeed him, as the spiritual head of Islām, his cousin 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, who, being married to Fāṭima, was also his son-in-law. 'Alī's rights were, however, usurped in turn by Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān; and though he was elected Khalīfa after 'Uthmān's death, he was assassinated after a brief and troubled reign of five years (A.D. 656-661). His eldest son, al-Ḥasan, the second Imām, abdicated five or six months after his father's death in favour of the Umayyad Mu'āwīya. His younger son, al-Ḥusayn, the third Imām, attempted to regain his temporal rights by a rash revolt against the Umayyads, but perished on the fatal field of Karbalā (Kerbelā) on Muḥarram 10, A.H. 61 (Oct. 10, A.D. 680), a day still celebrated with wailing and mourning in all Shi'ite communities, especially in Persia. The nine remaining Imāms all lived in more or less dread of the Umayyad, and afterwards of the 'Abbāsīd khalīfas, and many of them died by poison or other violent means. They were all descended from al-Ḥusayn, and, according to the popular belief, from a daughter of Yazdigird III., the last Sāsānian king, who was taken captive by the Arabs after the battle of Qādisiyya, and given in marriage to al-Ḥusayn. This belief, which was prevalent at least as early as the 3rd cent. of the Hijra, since it is mentioned by the historian al-Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma, II. 293, 363), undoubtedly explains, as remarked by Gobineau,* the affection in which the Imāms are held in Persia, since they are regarded as the direct descendants not only of the prophet Muḥammad, but also of the old royal house of Sāsān. The Divine Right of the Imāms to the temporal supremacy of which they had been unjustly deprived, and the absolute dependence

* *Rel. et Philos. dans l'Asie Centrale* (ed. 1866), p. 275.